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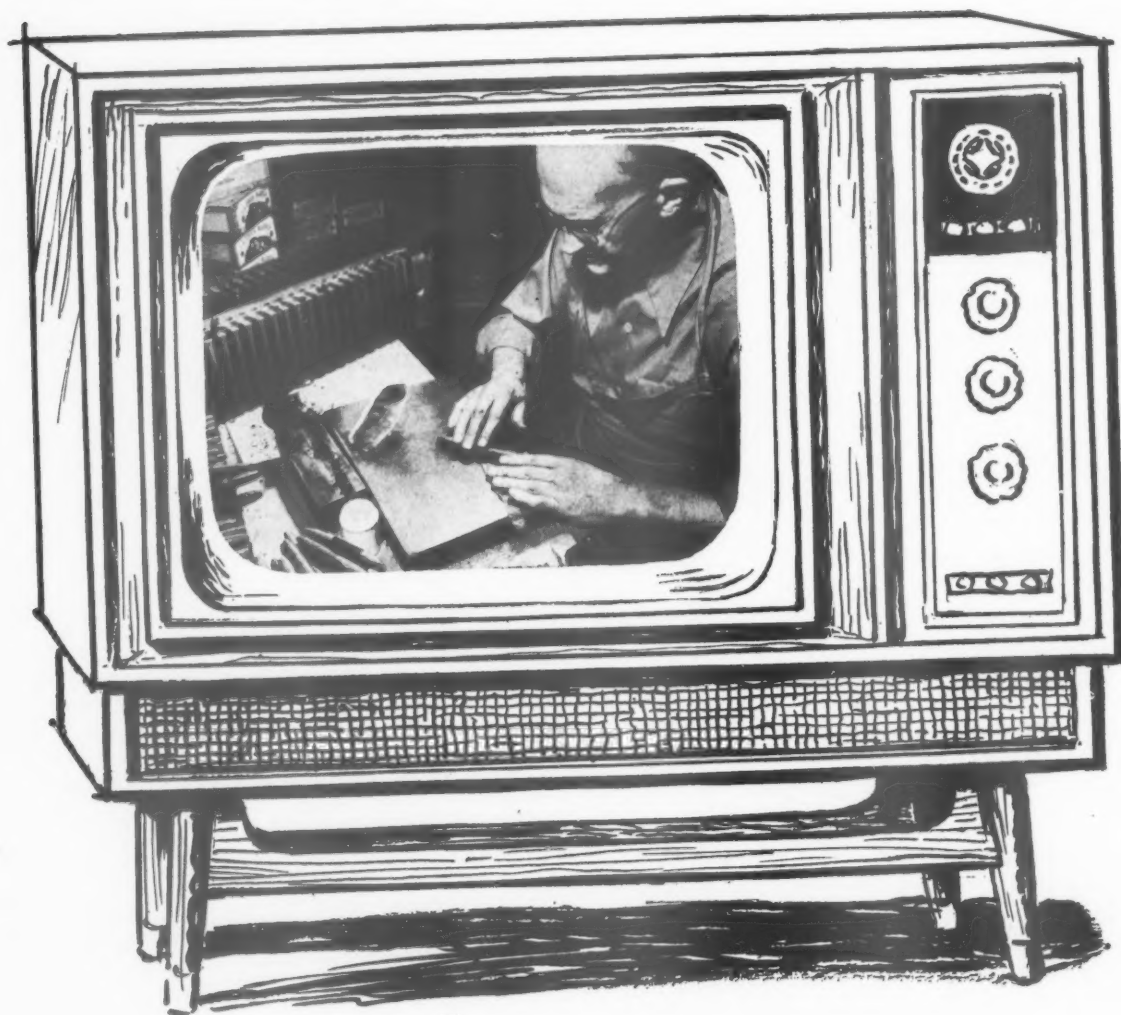
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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

OCTOBER, 1959

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

Vol. 66, No. 9

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Project Hope

Project Hope proposes to take a hospital ship, the *Consolation*, out of the mothballs and take it to Southeast Asia as a floating medical school and center. This will bring 800 hospital beds, together with a full staff of doctors, nurses and technicians. The ship will be sailed by AFL-CIO union members. It will be a completely American operation.

In the newly developing countries of Southeast Asia we have seen industrial and agricultural projects commenced and, in most instances, inadequately manned and staffed—not because these people are lazy but because they are simply not healthy enough to work.

We hope that in the training of their physicians on their own grounds, in their own environment, we can make a positive contribution to the advance of health in their countries. Even more important than the training of their physicians is the training of auxiliary medical personnel.

We must not forget that 80 per cent of the world is still dependent completely upon what the workingman can do with his hands and his feet. The basic economic unit is still the human being, and unless you have enough of these basic units available to do a day's work you will get no productivity.

I think it is important that we show these people that as Americans—as individuals and not as a government—we are concerned with their welfare and with their progress and with their dignity as individuals. We will not go where we are not invited. We have been invited by every country of Southeast Asia with only one exception, and I am sure this invitation will be forthcoming before too long.

We hope that in naming our project we have called it properly. Hope means a better tomorrow. The only chance for freedom in the newly developing countries is to give them a hope for a better tomorrow.

Dr. William Walsh.

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The third AFL-CIO convention, in five working days, fashioned a program to serve all America.

Labor Closes Ranks

By SAUL MILLER

AFL-CIO Director of Publications

A NEW UNITY born of the determination to meet the challenge of the anti-labor coalition emerged as the dominant theme of the third biennial convention of the AFL-CIO.

Faced with attacks on the legislative, economic and political fronts, the over 900 delegates at San Francisco gave top priority to closing ranks and mobilizing the labor movement to throw back the assault and continue onward with a program of progress for all America.

A major step in forging this unity was the overwhelming support for establishing in the AFL-CIO the principle that internal disputes be resolved by final and binding arbitration.

An equally important step was the mobilization of the AFL-CIO behind the striking Steelworkers and the adoption of the steel strike as the strike of all labor.

Faced with the harsh, punitive provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act, the delegates pledged a stepped-up political action campaign and a determination to push forward with trade union goals regardless of obstacles.

The road to labor's future was mapped by President George Meany, who was reelected to a

third two-year term with Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and the AFL-CIO's twenty-seven vice-presidents. He told the delegates after his reelection that there were four major jobs that the trade union movement must accomplish:

►Unify labor's ranks "so that we can go out as a solid organization to face these difficulties. That should be our No. 1 job. * * * The No. 1 weapon that we have is our own organization and its traditions."

►Organize the unorganized into the ranks of the trade union movement. * * * "Despite all difficulties, we cannot lay aside this function."

►Educate our members and the public "to know the trade union movement for what it really is—an instrumentality for good, * * * to advance not only the interests and the welfare of the members of the trade union movement but to advance the entire life of the community."

►Engage in political action so that "we roll up greater and greater majorities of liberals in Congress and in the legislative halls of the nation. * * * If we really turn to * * * we can do just as good a job as those who have spent their lives in the political field."

The trade union movement, President Meany declared, "has met every challenge of the past." He added: "I have no feeling of pessimism insofar as the ability of the American trade union movement to move forward against any type of opposition is concerned."

In five working days the San Francisco convention adopted nearly 200 resolutions covering the entire complex range of problems in which labor has an interest. The delegates engaged in spirited debate, especially in the area of civil rights, where differences on the speed with which labor is moving to stamp out discrimination were evident.

The convention served notice on big business that "the trade union movement will not knuckle under" to unreasonable demands at the bargaining table—demands that include wage freezes and major work-rule changes—characterizing them as "backward steps."

In the face of political, social and economic forces arrayed against the labor movement, the AFL-CIO declared, organizing the unorganized

is "a matter of necessity * * * in every sense of the word."

On the domestic front the convention scored the Landrum-Griffin Act as a measure designed to destroy labor, but added "we will not be destroyed" as it pledged to step up efforts to strengthen the labor movement. It assailed the McClellan Committee for its efforts to "weaken" labor, said there was little to cheer about in the record of the first session of the Eighty-sixth Congress and called for a thirteen-point legislative program for 1960.

The convention warned that a "decisive shift" in government and business policies is essential if the nation is to avoid another recession, condemned the phony anti-inflation campaign and called for a five-point program to strengthen the nation's educational system.

On political action the convention announced that "we start today the campaign of 1960," a campaign of stepped-up political activity to overcome the "reactionary bi-partisan coalition."

In the international area it adopted a detailed,

Organized labor has four major jobs to accomplish, President Meany told the delegates.



far-ranging resolution warning that the free world should not underestimate the growing Soviet industrial and military power for aggression. It characterized Khrushchev as "more truculent and demanding in his aggression than Stalin" and called for a strengthened defense to deter and defeat aggression, with top priority for space technology and ballistic weapons. The delegates reiterated strong opposition to colonialism.

In the area of internal structure and problems, the convention took an important stride toward settling of internal disputes by approving the principle of final and binding arbitration. The delegates directed the Executive Council to develop a detailed plan to be submitted to a special convention for final approval.

The convention voted to approve the Council's recommendation for affiliation of the International Longshoremen's Association, leaving it to the Council to determine the appropriate time for entry of the union on what is in effect a two-year probationary status.

DURING the convention there were two additional moves for internal unity with announcement that the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department and the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee had reached agreement to unite in one Department. Also six unions announced plans for creation of a coordinating committee to provide mutual aid for airline employees in dealing with the air transport industry.

The delegates discussed the problems of affiliation of local unions with state and local bodies, urging such action but stopping short of making affiliation mandatory. The per capita of directly affiliated unions was increased from \$1 to \$1.50 per member per month. Unmerged state and local bodies were urged to be united by the end of 1959.

On the bargaining front the convention adopted a seven-point program to give all-out support to the striking Steelworkers, including a drive for an hour's pay per month from every member of the AFL-CIO as well as additional funds from national and international unions.

It voted all-out support of the Swift strike by members of the Packinghouse Workers and the Meat Cutters as well as the Harriet-Henderson strike of the Textile Workers Union of America.



The delegates gave close attention to speeches and committee reports.

In the civil rights area the convention took a number of actions. It adopted a strong resolution pledging that organized labor will press "with renewed vigor" to secure equal rights for all Americans and called on all affiliates to take effective action to prevent or correct any local union procedure denying any member the full benefits of membership.

The delegates rejected a move by the Sleeping Car Porters to expel the Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Railroad Trainmen for not eliminating racial barriers from their constitutions, adopting instead a resolution referring the matter to the Executive Council with instructions to use all possible means to bring the unions into compliance with the AFL-CIO constitution.

The convention adopted another Sleeping Car Porters resolution with modification to the effect that affiliates move to eliminate racially segregated locals. There was a general understanding that an international union would not be considered in violation of AFL-CIO policy if it has no legal right to move against a local which refuses to surrender its charter.

Assessing the task of telling labor's story in the face of a "powerful and lavishly financed propaganda campaign" against the trade union movement, the convention called for expansion of the labor press and a "closer working relationship" between the AFL-CIO and its affiliates in their internal and external public relations and publications activities.

Settlement of Disputes by Arbitration Backed

A MAJOR stride toward the solution of internal disputes was taken by the AFL-CIO in its third biennial convention. The principle of final and binding arbitration to settle such disputes was given the stamp of approval by the conclave.

The delegates voted to direct the Executive Council to develop a detailed plan and procedures to be submitted to a special convention. The convention acted on a resolution submitted by the Council which contained the report of a special committee on union disputes created at the Council's meeting in August.

The committee reported that, after a study of the problems involved, "there is merit in the creation of an arbitration board, consisting of prominent and well-qualified persons, from which would be selected a panel to hear and determine disputes arising in subject areas, with power of final and binding decision."

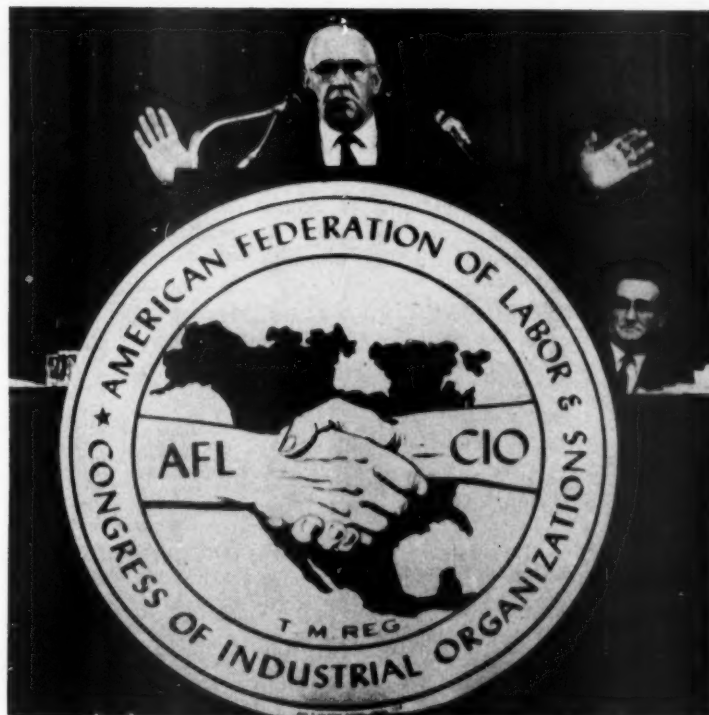
Such arbitration, the committee stressed, would be limited to the settlement of disputes only "and shall not include the determination of the work or trade jurisdiction of affiliates."

President Meany, in presenting the proposal to the convention and calling for its adoption, said:

"We can't afford the dubious luxury of fighting with one another at a time when the situation calls for us to fight shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy."

The problem of internal disputes, he said, grew out of the merger. In 1955 the decision was made to merge the two federations and solve problems later. Mr. Meany said that "considerable progress" had been made on internal disputes, but he asserted that it was necessary to set up new machinery beyond that provided in the AFL-CIO constitution to achieve a final solution of the problems.

Vice-President A. J. Hayes, chairman of the special committee, noting how deeply internal disputes had diverted time and money from the "real



The chairman of the special committee was Vice-President Al Hayes.

objectives of this organization," declared that arbitration would be "an effective and lasting solution to this problem."

Vice-President Walter P. Reuther, a member of the committee, strongly supported the arbitration proposal, calling it a "sensible and sane basis"

for adjustment of disputes. Internal disputes, he declared, dissipate the ability of the labor movement in terms of the "tremendous task ahead."

"This proposal will enable us to commit greater resources, a greater measure of good will and cooperation, to the positive task, and we can get on the offensive and begin to organize millions and millions of unorganized workers, and every union can grow and prosper, and together we can build a more effective AFL-CIO."

"I urge, as a member of a big union, as a member of an industrial union, as a person who served his apprenticeship as a craftsman, that in our labor movement there is room for all, and no union can make progress in a vacuum. We need to make progress together, and this proposal will make that possible."

Mr. Reuther noted that the change



Vice-President Walter Reuther strongly favored the proposal.

in the basic character of the work force meant that a smaller and smaller percentage of the people who historically have been organized will make up a smaller and smaller percentage of the total labor force." He said the labor force will expand among white collar workers, retailing employees, government workers and technicians, while the areas with the bulk of union membership will contract.

Lewis M. Herrmann, a delegate from the International Typographical Union, registered his union's opposition. He said the ITU has historically opposed arbitration and will not go along with any proposal "that is going to interfere with our jurisdictional position in the printing industry."

President Meany emphasized that the proposal "gives no one the right to determine jurisdiction." He recalled the prediction four years ago by the former president of the Typographical Union "that a small group of men were going to sit down in a room and cut up the jurisdictions of the smaller unions."

"That prediction did not come true," President Meany said, "and it is not going to come true on the basis of anything that is before you today."

THE special Executive Council committee, composed of Vice-Presidents Joseph A. Beirne and Joseph D. Keenan and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler, in addition to Mr. Hayes and Mr. Reuther, declared that "satisfactory final disposition of disputes and differences * * * cannot be accomplished without appropriate amendments to the constitution of the AFL-CIO which will expressly provide authority for such disposition with meaningful sanctions for prompt enforcement."

Reviewing the action of the Executive Council in establishing procedures for enforcing the no-raiding principle under Article III, Section 4, of the constitution, the special committee commented:

"While this procedure has resulted in the settlement of a number of disputes, certain difficulties have arisen, and the committee has therefore given consideration to whether some other procedure looking toward prompt, final and binding determination of raiding disputes would better serve the interests of the federation."

The resolution adopted by the con-

vention, in directing the Council to develop through the committee a detailed plan and procedure, authorized the calling of the special convention and "such constitutional amendments as may be necessary" to make the plan and procedure effective.

In its report to the convention, the Executive Council said that the AFL-CIO no-raiding agreement, which became effective June 9, 1954, as "a first and indispensable step" toward the achievement of labor unity, has since developed into "one of the demonstrable benefits of the merger."

The no-raiding agreement, the Council said, "has proved its value as a method of enforcing a basic minimum principle governing the relationships between affiliates," and complaints have "materially decreased with the passage of each year."

The Council cited a report of the

impartial umpire showing that as of July 9, a total of 219 cases had been processed under the agreement. Of these, 163 were resolved by mutual agreement between the parties involved. The umpire has rendered forty-two decisions and is in the process of hearing six pending cases, while eight cases are still in the preliminary stages of being processed.

Of the 135 national and international unions, 104 currently are signatories to the agreement, the report said.

In addition to the agreement, the AFL-CIO constitution provides machinery for maintaining and preserving the integrity of each affiliate. The Council noted that this represents "a procedural device to enforce a principle applicable to all affiliates," whether or not they are signatories to the no-raiding agreement.

Snapped at San Francisco



Prominent figures were W. C. Birthright (left), veteran leader of Barbers, and O. A. (Jack) Knight, OCAW president.



President Meany with Peter Schoemann, president of the Plumbers, and James A. Brownlow, president of the Metal Trades Department.



Brewery Workers' President Feller (left) and Plasterers' President Leonard shared a good joke during short recess.



Secretary - Treasurer Schnitzler's report drew parley's praise.



Women like Painters' Mona Crays took a strong interest in events at San Francisco.



Russ Stephens (left) of Technical Engineers was snapped with Joseph Collis, American Newspaper Guild.



Maintenance of Way Employees' President H. C. Crotty (left) and Herman D. Kenin, head of American Federation of Musicians.



Morris Pizer (left) heads United Furniture Workers. William Gillen is officer of the Insurance Workers.

Steelworkers' Support Is Pledged at Parley

A MILITANT seven-point program of financial, moral and physical support for the United Steelworkers was voted enthusiastically at San Francisco last month. The program was first given the unanimous approval of the AFL-CIO General Board and then was ratified by the third biennial convention.

The action of the General Board in establishing a multi-million-dollar defense fund was loudly cheered by the convention. The delegates unanimously roared approval of a resolution pledging American labor's solidarity behind the Steelworkers.

The financial drive is keyed to a plea to every AFL-CIO member to donate one hour's pay per month into the defense fund. At the end of the conflict, the money remaining in the fund will go to establish a permanent AFL-CIO defense fund to aid any affiliate menaced by similar management efforts to crush the union.

In the face of the most intensive management onslaught in recent labor history, delegates representing the 13,500,000 members of the AFL-CIO solemnly declared that "the struggle between the Steelworkers and the basic steel industry is a struggle for the survival of the entire labor movement."

"The Steelworkers' hour of need is the labor movement's hour of crisis," President George Meany told the General Board, composed of the principal executive officers of the 135 affiliated unions, before the unanimous vote to adopt the seven-point assistance program.

Speaking to the convention from New York over a special hookup, President David J. McDonald of the Steelworkers voiced his union's gratitude for the federation's "moral, physical and financial support."

Mr. McDonald said the steel industry had displayed "no evidence of regard for either the national welfare or the inherent rights of man."

"We have made offers repeatedly, in good faith," the union head declared. "All have been spurned."



Steelworkers' Secretary I. W. Abel holds Auto Workers' check as Emil Mazey (left), UAW secretary, and Walter P. Reuther look on.

"Despite record earnings achieved by improved efficiency and with fewer workers, the steel industry denies its employees simple economic justice. The claims of the industry that granting contract improvements would contribute to inflation and generate foreign competition are a ghastly hoax. But there is no doubting the brutal sincerity of the steel industry's desire to enforce economic slavery upon its workers by establishment of unilateral work rules.

"The industry persists in the fiction that employment costs have mounted out of all productivity proportions and therefore granting additional contract improvements would be inflationary. How can this be so when record-breaking production is being achieved with less employment? In the steel industry, production and maintenance employees in the first half of this year totaled 513,800, as compared with 567,800 in 1951. Yet ingot production, projected at an annual rate, totaled 128,600,000 tons in 1959, as compared with 105,200,000 tons eight years ago. This is a shrinkage of 54,000 employees and a gain of 23,000,000 tons of steel.

"These are not our figures. These are the figures of the American Iron and Steel Institute. How can the industry deny the record? How can

this be inefficient or contributory to inflation?

"The foreign competition hoax is shattered by the European Coal and Steel Community in its press release of August 14. This report states that 'delivery delays, in fact, now extend from about four to six months for most steel products from works in France, Germany and the Saar.' In other words, they couldn't supply the required steel to the United States even if they wanted to.

"They raised the issue of 'feather-bedding' and then abandoned it in the public prints because of our persistent demand for proof of their ridiculous charge against the workers. What they desired to eliminate was 'wasteful practices,' they said. They, however, would be the sole authority to determine what was 'wasteful' and thus reduce the Steelworkers' Union to the rank of a despised company union.

"Demands the American steel industry have made on their workers correspond alarmingly with demands on Russian steelworkers as dictated in so-called labor contracts under Communist rule. When one studies the working conditions of steelworkers under their Red masters, one is struck with the remarkable similarity between the conditions imposed with

those demanded by American steel companies in their eight-point 'break the union' ultimatum to us.

"The whole attitude of the industry in these negotiations demonstrates that this is no longer true democratic bargaining processes at work. This has become a struggle of free men against brutal economic power solidified into the hands of a few. They employ a species of financial terrorism to dictate their will to competitor, employe and nation alike.

"We say that the steel industry, so adamantly committed to the doctrine of staying human progress, is driving blindly down a path of no return."

I. W. Abel, the Steelworkers' secretary-treasurer, declared that the union is "bearing the brunt" of the current industry onslaught, pointed out that "a similar attack is being readied against the rail brotherhoods," and then warned:

"Perhaps your union may be next."

IN HIS keynote address, President Meany called the industry-inspired steel strike "another characteristic of this anti-labor drive."

"Here we find the guardians of a great industry absolutely refusing to bargain, taking from the very inception of the bargaining meetings the position that there would be no increase," Mr. Meany said.

The AFL-CIO's president castigated the steel industry for rejecting the appointment of an impartial fact-finding committee. The industry's leaders told President Eisenhower that they did not want any form of government intervention.

"Can we assume then," Mr. Meany asked, "that they are opposed to the eighty-day injunction which is hanging over the heads of the Steelworkers? Or do they think that that is all right?"

He said those controlling the steel industry "think it is all right."

"And," he added, "we think it is all wrong."

Affiliates quickly rallied to the Steelworkers' side, pledging immediate contributions of nearly \$3,500,000, coupled with indications of at least another \$1,100,000 monthly in treasury funds, in addition to contributions scheduled from rank-and-file members.

The resolution of the convention, adopted by a standing vote of cheering delegates, urged Mr. Eisenhower "not to use the power and prestige

of his high office as an anti-union weapon," but rather to "use it to promote a fair and free settlement of the dispute in the public interest."

The convention's action in support of the Steelworkers came after Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell warned the convention that the Administration would probably invoke the Taft-Hartley injunction procedure and Walter P. Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, responded:

"There can be no moral justifica-

tion for the President intervening * * * to bail out the industry."

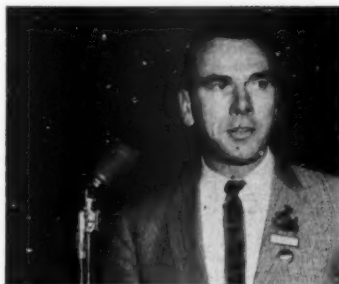
The UAW president called on the convention to say to Mr. Eisenhower:

"Mr. President, we don't want any special privileges. We want our measure of justice. We want the right to give our children a richer, better life. * * * Use your high office to try to persuade this industry that is making unprecedented profits to sit down in good faith and to bargain at the bargaining table."

At Our Third Convention



Berlin report was the feature of an address by Ernst Scharnowski.



IUE's Al Hartnett spoke up on the Teamster situation.



Harry Bates of Bricklayers discussed locals in South.



Esther Johnson of Government Employees chatted with William Pachler of Utility Workers Union.

More Political Activity by Labor Is Prescribed

"WE START today on the campaign of 1960," the third biennial convention of the AFL-CIO declared last month in a series of resolutions calling for stepped-up labor political activity to overcome the "reactionary bi-partisan coalition" in Congress that blocked liberal legislation while it rammed through the Landrum-Griffin Act.

The convention charged the existence of a "concerted and malignant conspiracy" between major industrialists and reactionary groups in both political parties "to render the labor movement ineffective" in politics and at the bargaining table.

The political goals of the trade union movement, the resolution on political activity declared, are to "advance the general welfare." The convention endorsed the work of the AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education and "directed and authorized" COPE to continue to coordinate and assist in political work in state, city and county labor bodies.

COPE Director James McDevitt (left) and AFL-CIO Secretary Schnitzler discussed ways of licking the anti-labor coalition.



The convention, in addition, urged:
▶That all union groups, national and local, render all assistance possible to "the policies and programs" of COPE.

▶That all union members have "a primary obligation" to make themselves eligible to vote and make individual contributions for political work.

▶That the voting record of all members of Congress and of state legislatures be treated as "basic evidence of their convictions and attitudes," with the "distribution and explanation" of the records a primary function of labor's political efforts.

The resolution declared labor's "independence of any political party" and determination to support "candidates, regardless of party affiliation, whose records and attitudes indicate a devotion to the welfare of our country and its people."

In a spirited floor debate, speaker after speaker denounced the coalition that put through the Landrum-Griffin



Vice-President Joseph D. Keenan said setback in Congress should inspire increased COPE efforts.

Act with the backing of President Eisenhower and Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell.

AFL-CIO Vice-President Joseph D. Keenan, discussing the enactment of the Landrum-Griffin Law, said:

"This is the kind of a crack in the jaw you need in order to get going. I take this condition much the same as a manager of a baseball team or a coach on a football team."

COMMENTING on the "stacks of telegrams" urging a harsh measure that had swamped Senators and Representatives prior to the voting on the anti-union legislation, Mr. Keenan voiced the hope that the lawmakers would take the time to analyze these communications.

"I am sure that if they are honest with us," he said, "they will find that over 90 per cent of the people that sent the telegrams never voted for them and never voted for a liberal issue in their lives."

While trade unionists don't make long-distance calls or send the telegrams "that these people received," Mr. Keenan pointed out, they do make it their business to get to the polling places on Election Day, as was conclusively demonstrated in last year's "right to work" tests.



Governor Edmund G. (Pat) Brown told the convention proudly that he has been 'working with labor for the betterment of all the people.' His remarks were liked by President Meany.

Caught by the Camera



C. J. Haggerty (left) of California state body got together with John C. Kabachus of the Fire Fighters Assn.

"This action in Congress isn't the true reflection of the thinking of our people," he said, "and we still have time to go out and correct it."

Mr. Keenan urged everyone in the labor movement to get solidly behind COPE and "do the job that COPE was set up to do."

"I don't agree with Goldwater that we need millions of dollars," he said. "All we need is enough to operate. If we go out and build these precinct organizations where we can get in to our people, we can do it."

In a sharp exchange of opinion, President Michael Quill of the Transport Workers assailed Senator John

F. Kennedy in regard to the Landrum-Griffin Act. The Senator was defended warmly by Secretary-Treasurer Kenneth Kelley of the Massachusetts State AFL-CIO, who pointed out that Mr. Kennedy's work in committee had saved labor "from a much more restrictive and punitive piece of legislation."

The delegate from Massachusetts said Senator Kennedy was entitled to "the accolade of a tried and true friend of labor."

Mr. Quill appealed for labor backing for "something new" and asked instructions to the Executive Council for development of "an American labor party."

Vice-President Richard Walsh said that labor must get the message "to the man and the woman who is working on the job" in the same highly effective way this was accomplished last year in Ohio and California during the drive by labor's enemies to put across "right to work."

Trade unionists should support or oppose candidates solely on the basis of their records, Mr. Walsh said.

"Never mind what his party affiliation may be," he urged. "We can talk about new parties, but we haven't done so well with the two parties that are in there now."

Vice-President Joseph Curran told the convention:

"This last session of Congress points up beyond any shadow of a doubt that we have got to build our political action machinery far stronger, far more powerful than we have ever built it to this day. It means that every union has got to get into this fight. It means that we have got to look over some of these so-called friends, too."

He urged all-out support of COPE. He could not agree, he said, with the suggestion of Mr. Quill regarding the "fashioning and building" of a labor party in the United States.

"It may well be," Mr. Curran declared, "that the day will come when the labor movement, the farmers and other progressive groups will be in a position to build a powerful political organization. But that day is not today nor is it in the immediate future. Our job today is to build and build and build on the unity that we started to build in the labor movement in 1955."

The convention adopted resolutions calling for increased activity by women in politics and strongly supporting reforms to end unfair representation in Congress, legislatures and the electoral college.



Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers Union, said a labor party is needed.

Organizing Work Called 'Matter of Necessity'

ORGANIZING the unorganized is a "matter of necessity" today in the face of "the most concentrated and effective anti-union campaign ever waged," the San Francisco convention declared. Political, social and economic forces are converging on the labor movement, the delegates said, to raise a "single, important" question:

"Will trade unionism be a continuing, indispensable factor in American life or a segment of the national scene holding a position of diminishing significance?"

This is how the convention answered its own question:

"Each of the impact areas represents a challenge. Of present interest is that each of these challenges can be met through the medium of a traditional union activity—organizing."

Despite the atmosphere, the convention found that "the state of trade unionism is good," what with a million new members coming into the AFL-CIO since the merger—offset, of course, by losses from expulsions and recession.

The delegates pledged the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions to intensify their efforts to enroll as union members "all workers in all industries, crafts and services in all sections of the country," and, in view of the "massive assault" on labor, to explore every means of eradicating jurisdictional disputes and developing a spirit of fraternal cooperation.

"The aims and values of American unions, as a force for progress in society, are as valid today as they ever have been," the resolution declared. "The trade union movement holds the promise of a brighter future for each and every worker in the form of higher living standards, greater security on the job and a firm voice in the determination of working conditions."

The convention recognized that the Taft-Hartley Act and the new Landrum-Griffin Act not only are threats to organizing but also are spurs to

membership drives. The intent of the two anti-labor laws, the convention declared, was to make organizing more difficult.

"The organized enemies of organized labor," the delegates said, "consider devices to frustrate union organizing as among the most effective weapons in their anti-union arsenal. They know as well as we that the union movement that ceases to organize the unorganized will see its influence decline."

Changes in the work force and in work procedures, it was noted, point up the need of organizing in areas where satisfactory progress has not been made in the past—among clerical, sales, service, technical and professional workers, in the South and on the corporation farms.

"The organizing goals thus indicated," the delegates declared, "are imperative, the problems many."

Another problem that must be recognized, they said, is that organiz-

ing takes "more time, more organizers and more expenditures" than in the past.

"Experience of the last two years," asserted the resolution, "is that the AFL-CIO has staying power sufficiently durable to overcome almost any outside obstacle or attack."

In its report to the convention, the Executive Council said that AFL-CIO unions since the 1957 convention had maintained their record of winning 60 per cent of collective bargaining elections conducted by the National Labor Relations Board.

The report informed the delegates that the AFL-CIO organizing staff, during the twenty months which ended last May 1, had provided more than 41,000 man-days to affiliated national and international unions in organizing campaigns and related activities. An additional 18,000 man-days were given to assisting directly affiliated local unions and city and state central bodies, the report said.



Jack Livingston (third from left), AFL-CIO director of organization, talks things over with members of the United Auto Workers' delegation.

Soviet Aggressive Power Growing, Parley Warns

THE VISIT to the United States of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and the recent Geneva conference of foreign ministers mark the beginning of another "significant stage in postwar history," the third AFL-CIO convention declared.

"Our country and the free world," the delegates said, "should not underestimate the growing Soviet industrial and military power for aggression. * * * Despite the weaknesses and difficulties confronting the totalitarian world, Khrushchev has been more truculent and demanding in his aggression than Stalin.

"The present Kremlin course toward the problem of German reunification and Berlin is far tougher than the harshest Soviet proposals put forward under Stalin.

"The Kremlin is seeking to push its territorial position considerably westward by absorbing first Berlin and then all Germany behind the Iron Curtain. No diplomatic niceties or jovial smiles can hide this ominous development."

The convention called for a reorganization and a strengthening of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The delegates urged a strengthened capacity and readiness to deter and defeat military aggression. Top priority should be given to the development of American capacity in outer space technology and ballistic weapons, the parley said.

On disarmament, the convention warned that Soviet disarmament proposals are but a rehash of old proposals which "do not meet the burning issue." Maintenance of "vigorous initiative" to obtain a progressive reduction of armament looking toward the abolition of all nuclear weapons was advocated.

The AFL-CIO's support of the United Nations was reaffirmed, but the convention asked that the world organization be provided with greater resources "so that it can serve more frequently and actively in the promotion of harmonious international relations and human well-being."



Anna Kethly warned the democracies to remember the savagery of Nikita Khrushchev in crushing Hungary's bid for freedom.

"We believe that the possibility of reaching the objectives of the U.N. is greatly increased now that the principle of labor participation in the U.S. delegation has been established," the conclave added.

Declaring that Soviet imperialism "has only aggravated the difficulties" of the struggle of colonial peoples for independence and has "impeded its progress," the convention emphasized that the U.S. must utilize its "moral, economic and political strength" to hasten the day of "full national freedom."

ON THE question of Algeria, the convention urged negotiations between France and Algerian nationalists to end fighting, called on France to release all Algerian prisoners and proposed free elections under United Nations supervision to establish the principle of democratic government.

The convention advocated the creation of an all-German committee, to be chosen democratically, based on numerical parity and elected in each part of Germany under United Na-

tions supervision, which would combine and prepare to hold free elections under U.N. supervision for the establishment of a sovereign all-German government representing a unified Germany.

In regard to the Middle East, the convention appealed to workers, peasants and intellectuals to put pressure on their government to relieve the hostility between the Arab countries and Israel. The parley pledged U.S. labor to do all in its power to persuade our government to render "the most generous assistance" in undertakings looking toward lasting peace, economic development and freedom.

The U.S. government was urged to support free navigation and exercise its influence in the United Nations to have the Suez Canal opened to the shipping of all nations, including Israel.

Latin America was given much attention. The convention warned that "invasion by foreign bands, as we have recently witnessed in the Caribbean," will encourage international communism to impose itself by force. The delegates called for prompt res-

Snapped at San Francisco



Major contributions to the work of the convention were made by Vice-President Buckmaster (left) and Vice-President Harrison.



ICFTU President Arne Geijer spoke on labor's world tasks.



Peter Terzick presented ILPA scroll citing George Meany's keen interest in labor press.

toration of political rights and freedom of press and assembly in Haiti and Paraguay lest "violent upheavals" ultimately benefit Communist agitators. The convention expressed solidarity with jailed and exiled unionists still working for freedom in those two nations.

Best wishes were extended to the Cuban people on their efforts to rebuild politically and economically on the bases of social justice, freedom, civic morality and human rights. The convention urged trade unions to join other democratic forces in solving the Nicaraguan political crisis posed by thirty years of Somoza dictatorship, and called the continuing Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic "a blot on the honor of the American family of nations."

THE convention spotlighted the fact that the "full disarmament" proposals presented to the United Nations by Khrushchev are not new but merely an echo of old Communist propaganda. The Soviet position was scored by the delegates.

The convention lashed out at "Moscow's stubborn opposition to genuine international inspection and control," which it called the keys to disarmament, and stressed that Khrushchev's proposals "do not meet the burning issue of genuine disarmament."

Anna Kethly, who was Minister of State in the ill-fated Hungarian government of Imre Nagy, told the convention of the Communist brutality in crushing the Hungarian freedom fighters in 1956 and in imposing new tyrannies on workers.

President Meany warned that the "smiles and handshakes" of the Kremlin boss are only "one side" of the Soviet face, adding that the other side is the threatening Khrushchev.

Urging the American people not to "let their guard down," Mr. Meany said the Soviets have a great opportunity to prove they are sincere about wanting peace and friendship.

"Let them free the slaves in Hungary and the other nations behind the Iron Curtain and then we can perhaps trust them when they say they want peace and freedom," the AFL-CIO leader declared.

Khrushchev smiled and bowed to the friendly reception given him by the people of San Francisco, Mr. Meany pointed out, but he added:

"We can't forget that in Los An-

geles he said, 'The rockets are ready. The launching pads are ready.' This, of course, in a moment of anger. This wasn't a smiling, jovial Khrushchev.

"Which Khrushchev do we look at, the smiling one up at the top of the hill yesterday evening or the one telling us that the rockets are ready?"

The best allies of dictatorship are the forgetfulness and lack of interest on the part of the free nations, Miss Kethly, a labor leader and a veteran of her country's struggles for freedom against both Nazis and Communists, told the convention.

"The Hungarian question should be kept on the agenda of world history as long as it has not been solved in justice and according to the wishes of the Hungarian people," she said. "The Hungarian question must be discussed during the coming negotiations of the big powers."

Miss Kethly informed the convention that "people laugh no more" in Communist-ruled Hungary. Occasionally, she said, one can meet those whom the Budapest regime considers trustworthy enough to cross the Iron Curtain and visit a free country.

"Whatever these people say is full of bitterness and recriminations," she reported. "Even such privileged people are afraid and uncertain of their future. Nobody knows if and when the earth will tremble under his feet. Nobody knows what an early morning ring of the doorbell will mean to him."

ESCAPE from poverty with the assurance of freedom is possible in countries emerging from centuries of hunger only with economic help from the more advanced nations, the convention declared in a resolution calling upon the United States to make the "major contribution." The resolution urged Congress to authorize "an expanded, long-term and fully effective program of economic and technical assistance" which should include:

►Authorization for five years of at least \$1.5 billion a year for the Development Loan Fund to make loans for economic development on a basis appropriate to the financial capacity of the recipient country.

►Effective U.S. financial support for and participation in the proposed International Development Association, Latin American Development Association and other regional de-

velopment groups that may provide long-term, low-interest loans repayable in local currencies.

►Expanded support for technical cooperation programs through U.S. and United Nations agencies.

►Expanded programs for distributing surplus foods and fibers abroad to help improve living standards and spur economic developments.

SPECIAL emphasis was given the economic problems of Latin America because of the close ties between this country and the other nations of the Americas and because of the friendly relations among the democratic labor movements of the two continents.

The convention agreed with Latin American unionists that their countries can "take many measures" toward creation of better economic health. But "adequate advance" cannot be achieved, the delegates maintained, without outside aid.

The convention called for continued investment of foreign capital in addition to increased public loans by the U.S. and international financial institutions, and urged a "substantial" expansion of technical assistance, "which has yielded a high return in improved human well-being and can give even greater results in health, education and agricultural and industrial efficiency."

The forthcoming tenth anniversary congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions was called upon by the convention to "reinvigorate" and "rededicate" the worldwide organization of democratic unionism to its "indispensable" role.

At the same time the convention urged the ICFTU to continue to press

militantly for organization of unions in areas where they are weak, particularly in the underdeveloped areas, and "to maintain a firm, unyielding position on the fight against totalitarianism and for the advancement of free trade unionism as an organized movement everywhere."

The ICFTU congress will be held next December in Brussels. The convention urged the congress to meet the new challenges presented by education and organization problems in the world's less developed areas.

Changes in the international situation, the convention declared, call for a "reappraisal" of ICFTU projects and a critical "reexamination" of programs required to carry out the work of the ICFTU in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The convention reaffirmed AFL-CIO support for the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT), the Western Hemisphere arm of the ICFTU, and backing for its programs aimed at extending modern trade unionism to Latin American workers. The convention also approved activities of AFL-CIO unions in promoting cooperation between ORIT and the international trade secretariats.

The convention hailed the International Labor Organization on its fortieth anniversary and pledged it U.S. labor's continued support.

"While ILO activities may not have directly affected substantial numbers of workers in the United States," the resolution said, "the economic and social advancement the ILO has fostered in other parts of the world has undoubtedly helped to safeguard the hard-won standards of American workers."

JANE ADDAMS WILL BE REMEMBERED

THE AMERICAN labor movement owes a particular debt of gratitude to Jane Addams, founder of Chicago's famed Hull House and authority on many social problems, and the AFL-CIO will join with other organizations next year in observing the centennial of her birth. This was the decision of the San Francisco convention.

A resolution introduced by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers

of America won the parley's unanimous approval. The resolution pointed out that Jane Addams made Hull House available for union meetings in the days when strikers in Chicago were unable to find any other hall, mobilized public opinion behind the early garment strikes and worked side by side with the union movement for decades against child labor and in behalf of minimum wage legislation.

Parley Urges Congress to Better Its Record

THE RECORD of the Eighty-sixth Congress in its first session provided "little to cheer," the third biennial convention of the AFL-CIO declared. The parley called for the adoption of a thirteen-point program next year in order that Congress may "live up to the hopes that were entertained for it" following the elections of last November.

Congress at its 1960 session was urged to do the following:

- Revise the Fair Labor Standards Act by raising the minimum wage to at least \$1.25 an hour and extending coverage to millions now denied protection of federal wage and hour legislation.

- Implement the Employment Act of 1946 by passage of depressed areas legislation and by a program of public works loans to communities.

- Pass aid to education along the lines of the Murray-Metcalf bill, which would provide aid both for classroom construction and teachers' salaries "so that our ever-worsening situation may at least be alleviated."

- Provide "overdue protection" for workers made jobless "through no fault of their own" by establishment of federal standards which the states must follow, on the amount and duration of unemployment compensation benefits "in keeping with the needs of today."

- Modernize the social security system by passage of the Forand bill to provide hospitalization insurance for senior citizens and by broadening the public assistance program to include the general needy.

- Complete legislation to assure an adequate level of housing at prices the American people can afford, including public housing, middle-income housing and housing for the elderly.

- Enact legislation for the development of natural resources through multi-purpose projects on the great river basins and a more vigorous development of atomic energy for peaceful uses.

- Overhaul the present inequitable

tax structure by elimination of loopholes "enjoyed by business and the wealthy," increasing the exemptions and elimination of excise taxes.

- Reorganize the Federal Reserve Board and achieve greater coordination of monetary policies with other economic policies to bring about a higher rate of growth.

- Modernize the Davis-Bacon and Walsh-Healey Acts "so that federal money will not be used to undermine the hard-won gains of organized labor in wages and related benefits."

- Enact meaningful civil rights legislation to assure equal treatment before the law of all Americans without regard to race, color or national origin.

- Humanize immigration laws to reflect America's "traditional role of humanitarianism and democracy," with special attention to relieving the plight of refugees in many lands.

- Enact farm legislation to provide those who toil in agriculture their full equity in the American economy.

THE convention, in a resolution that was strongly phrased, placed the blame for Congressional failures to date on the coalition of reactionary Democrats and Republicans, on outmoded rules of Congress and on "government by veto."

"The top-heavy Democratic majorities" in the House and Senate, the resolution pointed out, "do not by themselves guarantee liberal actions." It was noted that about one-third of the Democrats, "almost all of these from the Southern states," think and act like members of the Republicans' reactionary wing.

"There are not enough liberal Republicans to make up for these Democratic defections," the resolution said, and it added that the "political arithmetic" of Congress can be changed only at the next elections.

In its comments on the action-improving rules of Congress, the resolution reported on the Senate's "obsolete" rule requiring a two-thirds vote to choke off debate, which was altered

only slightly, and on the failure of the House to curb the powers of the reactionary-led Rules Committee.

The resolution said Congress, "even with its reactionary majority and its outmoded rules," was prepared to make some progress at the 1959 session on many vital issues. Unfortunately, constructive action was repeatedly thwarted by President Eisenhower. The delegates said the use of the veto and frequently the mere threat of the veto led to "retreat after retreat."

Because of these difficulties, the convention asserted, the first session of the Eighty-sixth Congress "failed to act decisively in the public interest in many vital areas of legislation." Moreover, the parley said, in the "most significant action" this year—passage of labor legislation—"Congress acted contrary to the public interest."

President Meany, in the Executive Council's report to the convention, lashed Congress for its failure to enact an effective recovery program. He charged that the lawmakers "neglected the plight of the unemployed."

Congress was "intimidated by the threats of the President's veto power" and it "lost a promising opportunity to break through the log-jam of reactionary resistance against forward-looking legislation," he reported. At the same time "Congress boiled over with anti-labor activity," he said.



Congressman Shelley, a liberal, was a speaker at the conclave.

'Conspiracy' in South to Bring Counterattack

THE CONSPIRACY to destroy or emasculate unions in the South was blasted by the San Francisco convention. A three-pronged counterattack against the anti-labor plot was prepared by the biennial parliament of American unionism.

In a resolution keyed to the struggle for survival of the Textile Workers Union of America at the Harriet-Henderson Cotton Mills, Henderson, North Carolina, the convention called on the labor movement to:

►Engage in vigorous political action in the South to break up the alliance between powerful business interests and those in political power, pointing out that the anti-labor conspiracy "depends heavily for its effectiveness" on such an alliance.

►Continue "moral and financial aid" to the TWUA "in full recognition of the sacrifices" endured by the Harriet-Henderson strikers. "They have kept faith with the labor movement," the resolution declared. "They have earned our unflinching support."

►Alert all international unions "to the dangers posed by this conspiracy and call upon them to make their members and the nation in general fully aware of it."

Before the convention acted on the resolution, TWUA President William Pollock inserted in the record a detailed history of the struggle by 1,100 members of the union against "naked force and violence" in Henderson as a result of management's determination "to strangle their right to a democratic voice in their conditions of work."

Mr. Pollock said that the conspiracy in the South has been used against such unions as the Chemical Workers and the Hosiery Workers in recent months as well as against his own organization.

Organizing in the South, said the TWUA leader's statement, cannot advance "until the frigid, anti-labor climate fostered by our political enemies is changed." He said the convention's counterattack resolution would



TWUA President Bill Pollock (left) and E. L. Wheatley of the Operative Potters Union.

open the door to such an approach through political action.

"This must be labor's answer to a bloc of more than 125 reactionary Senators and Representatives in the South who line up with reactionary Republicans * * * to defeat every progressive measure in Congress," he added.

The resolution pointed out that the Harriet-Henderson management's efforts to crush the union follow a pattern used against the TWUA in such textile communities as Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Gadsden, Alabama, and Fitzgerald, Georgia, "where bitter and costly strikes were required to save old, established local unions."

"This formula calls for cancellation of the union contract, followed by the serving of management demands which no union can accept," the resolution said. "The result is a strike."

"Once the struggle is in progress, the company secures an anti-picketing injunction and enlists the services of local and state police—and even the National Guard, if necessary—to escort strikebreakers into the plant. Under such circumstances it is just a matter of time before the strike is broken and the union is undermined."

During discussion of a resolution dealing with political education, Delegate William DuChessi of the Textile Workers Union asserted:

"Our biggest organizational problem, of course, is in the South—and that is because our biggest political problem is in the South."

He said that his union has been working on the problem for the last two decades.

"We in the TWUA are first to admit that only the surface has been scratched in the South," Mr. DuChessi said. "No one knows better than the Textile Workers Union of America, because we have been paying a bitter price for inadequate political activity by organized labor in the South."

The Southern problem, he declared, should be regarded as that of the labor movement throughout the nation.

"The election of a reactionary Congressman in Georgia, in Mississippi or in the Carolinas," said the TWUA delegate, "in the last analysis is a vote in Congress against labor in New England, the Middle Atlantic states, the Middle West and the Far West."

He closed his remarks as follows:

"With all apologies to Horace Greeley, I say: 'Go south, AFL-CIO. Go south.' That is where the political action challenges lie."

Per Capita Raised for Direct Locals

THE CONVENTION approved a constitutional amendment raising the per capita payments for directly affiliated local unions to \$1.50 per month. The convention's action followed debate in which spokesmen for several directly affiliated locals objected to the increase.

President George Meany told the convention before the vote on the amendment that directly affiliated locals get "every possible service" from the AFL-CIO in terms of strike assistance, collective bargaining, accounting, bookkeeping and research.

Per capita had been set at \$1 a month by the 1957 convention.

All Officers Reelected

A STRONG vote of confidence was given by the San Francisco convention to the leadership of the AFL-CIO. The delegates reelected President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler and the twenty-seven vice-presidents.

President Meany was nominated for his third two-year term as the head of the merged labor movement by Vice-President Peter T. Schoemann, president of the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters. The nomination was seconded by Louis Hollander of the New York State AFL-CIO.

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler was nominated by Daniel E. Conway, president of the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers International Union. The nomination was seconded by Louis Marciante, a delegate of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

William A. Calvin, president of the Boilermakers, moved the nomination of the twenty-seven vice-presidents and the convention elected them by acclamation. The vice-presidents, who serve also as members of the Executive Council, are:

Walter P. Reuther, George M. Harrison, Harry C. Bates, William C. Birthright, James B. Carey, William C. Doherty, David Dubinsky, Charles J. MacGowan, David J. McDonald, Emil Rieve, William L. McFetridge, Joseph Curran, Maurice A. Hutcheson, A. J. Hayes, Joseph D. Keenan, L. S. Buckmaster, Jacob S. Potofsky, A. Philip Randolph, Richard F. Walsh, Lee W. Minton, Joseph A. Beirne, James A. Suffridge, O. A. Knight, Karl F. Feller, Paul L. Phillips, Peter T. Schoemann and L. M. Raftery.

Following his reelection President Meany thanked the delegates for their action and expressed his conviction that the American trade union movement has the ability to move forward against any type of opposition.

"Our first job, in my opinion, is to unify our ranks, to whatever extent it is necessary, so that we can go out as a solid organization to face these difficulties," he said. "That should be our No. 1 job because to fight we have got to be united."

"To meet the challenge we have got to do so with every possible weapon



Nomination of George Meany brought a seconding speech by New York's Lou Hollander.

at our disposal, and the No. 1 weapon that we have is our own organization with its traditions."

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler also voiced strong confidence that organized labor will meet and overcome the difficulties ahead. He recalled the severe problems which confronted a smaller and weaker movement years ago and which failed to crush it.

"We have to leave here with a determination that we are going to work

together, live together, help each other and cooperate with one another so that our future will be recorded with successes, the kind that we are deserving," Mr. Schnitzler told the convention.

At the beginning of the San Francisco gathering, in his keynote address, President Meany had said:

"There is much to be improved and remedied and many wrongs to be righted, but I submit these wrongs will be righted, whatever they are, by those who believe in the free way of life rather than by those who believe in a dictatorial or tyrannical method."

"Yes, you can sum it up by saying: Whatever the ills of democracy are, they can be cured by more democracy."

He had also pointed out that the United States has the resources to meet the Soviet challenge in the missile field and in any other field where Soviet advances threaten American security.

The convention voted increases in the salaries of Mr. Meany and Mr. Schnitzler to \$45,000 and \$43,000, respectively.



Plumbers' President Peter T. Schoemann congratulated President Meany.

Maritime Unity Is Set

THE THEME of a solidly unified labor movement was dramatically underscored at the AFL-CIO convention last month when two maritime groups agreed to the establishment of a single Maritime Trades Department. The announcement of the unity move on the convention floor by Paul Hall, president of the AFL-CIO Maritime Trades Department, and Joseph Curran, chairman of the AFL-CIO Maritime Committee, was hailed by President George Meany as a "very, very important step."

Mr. Curran, who heads the National Maritime Union, served this notice on shipping employers, anti-labor legislators and owners of ships flying runaway flags to escape American union standards:

"We now warn them and all other enemies of labor that this force which expended so much blood and effort in fighting each other is now united, and they better watch out in the future."

Mr. Hall, head of the Seafarers International Union, joined Mr. Curran in warning that "shipowners had better watch it real close now."

Until about a year ago the two groups had engaged in a running controversy which included the two major unions in the maritime field—the union headed by Mr. Curran and the union headed by Mr. Hall. Slowly the differences were worked out and a joint legislative venture was established which led to the agreement that was announced at the convention.

Before they united, the Maritime Trades Department had twenty affiliates, the Maritime Committee four, including, in addition to the NMU, the American Radio Association, Local 5000 of the Steelworkers and the Shipbuilding Workers.

Mr. Hall and Mr. Curran released a "memorandum of understanding" which said both groups agreed to the establishment of a single Department composed of all unions affiliated with both. The Department will have a seafarers' section "which shall be responsible for carrying out the seafaring section's program in relations with various branches of the government and with organizations of all descriptions."

The seafarers' section will be under



A handclasp symbolized achievement of maritime unity. At the left, NMU President Joseph Curran. At right, President Paul Hall of MTD.

the supervision of two co-chairmen. It will be financed by per capita from seamen's unions in addition to and separate from the regular departmental per capita tax.

The seafarers' section will function in the direct interest of the seagoing unions and their members. It will operate as part of the Department.

"It is further agreed and understood," said the memorandum, "that any other crafts or trades of an identical nature, such as will compose the seafarers' section, which desire to form a section of their crafts and/or trades shall be empowered to do so."

The merger of the two groups was signaled at the earlier convention of the MTD when delegates authorized Executive Secretary Harry E. O'Reilly to call a special convention to discuss possible changes in the constitution to expedite affiliation of the Maritime Committee unions.

At a special convention held in San Francisco on September 23, the Maritime Trades Department formally approved the merger agreement with the Maritime Committee and voted to make the accord part of the Department's constitution. The dele-

gates gave the pact their endorsement after hearing a detailed explanation and agreed that it was a "big step forward" in implementing unity.

Mr. Hall and Mr. Curran were elected co-chairmen. Hoyt S. Had-dock, formerly executive secretary-treasurer of the Maritime Committee, was chosen section director responsible for administration and for the implementation of programs.

In addition to the Seafarers International Union and the National Maritime Union, the unions affiliated with the section are the Marine Engineers, the Masters, Mates and Pilots, the American Radio Association and the radio section of the Commercial Telegraphers Union.

The merger action was spurred by the runaway problem. The unions grew closer together in a joint fight to maintain an adequate U.S. merchant marine.

The new relationship was cemented by further mutual action in the International Transport Workers Federation, which last December staged a worldwide four-day boycott of ships flying the runaway flags of Panama, Liberia and Honduras.

Vigorous Rights Efforts Pledged by Convention

ORGANIZED labor will press "with renewed vigor" its drive to make fully secure equal rights for all Americans in every field of life and to assure the full benefits of union organization to all workers—without regard to race, creed, color or national origin. This pledge was made by the third AFL-CIO convention, in session at San Francisco.

The parley called on all unions to set up their own internal civil rights committees and staff machinery to assure effective administration of meaningful civil rights programs within their own ranks.

Affiliates were urged to take prompt and effective action to prevent or correct any local union procedure denying any member the full benefits of his membership in contravention of the AFL-CIO's civil rights policy.

Civil rights came up not only during debate on the basic resolution but also during discussions in three other areas. The issue arose when charges of bias against Negro workers were raised during action on the entry on probation of the International Longshoremen's Association, the proposed expulsion of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen for not eliminating racial barriers from their constitutions, and a resolution demanding that racially segregated local unions be "liquidated and eliminated" by affiliated organizations.

The Resolutions Committee recommended that the Executive Council be authorized to admit the ILA when it meets the conditions the Council set out at its meeting last August.

The charge of discrimination was made by AFL-CIO Vice-President A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters. He charged that 6,000 Negro and Puerto Rican dock workers in the New York area are victims of racial discrimination.

Mr. Randolph called racial discrimination "an affront to the personality of any worker." He said Negro workers are less concerned about eco-



Issue of race bias was raised by President Philip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters.

nomic advantages than about "the elimination of humiliation."

"The color bar is a symbol of second-class citizenship," Mr. Randolph pointed out, adding: "The responsibility of keeping this question alive in the labor movement is the responsibility of the Negro trade unionists."

Vice-President Joseph Curran, president of the National Maritime Union and a member of the Executive Council subcommittee which studied the ILA and recommended its admission when specific conditions are met, told the convention he could "at no time recall" the issue of racial discrimination being raised. He and President Paul Hall of the Seafarers International Union both said there had been progress in eliminating discrimination in the ILA.

The Resolutions Committee recommended that the resolution on expelling the two railroad unions be referred to the Executive Council with instructions to attempt to bring them into compliance with the AFL-CIO constitution.

The recommendation was opposed by Mr. Randolph, Vice-President Milton P. Webster of the Sleeping Car Porters, President Eugene Frazier of the Transport Service Workers, Frank Evans of the Allied Industrial Workers, George Thomas of the Packinghouse Workers and in part by Joseph Collis of the Newspaper Guild.

President W. P. Kennedy of the Railroad Trainmen and President

H. R. Gilbert of the Firemen and Enginemen defended their organizations against charges of widespread racial bias and detailed steps taken to eliminate bias where it exists.

The Firemen and Enginemen refused at their recent convention to remove the race barrier despite the pleas of their officers. The Trainmen will be unable to act until the next convention in 1962. Mr. Gilbert and Mr. Kennedy both asked for more time to effect the constitutional changes which were a condition of their unions' admission.

The recommendation of the Resolutions Committee was carried by a substantial margin.

The resolution proposing that racially segregated locals be "eliminated" was approved, with the convention approving the Resolutions Committee's recommendation to strike out the word "liquidated."

The debate brought virtual agreement with the sense of the resolution as expressed by President Meany. He said the intent of the resolution was that unions should act to eliminate segregated locals, but that a union should not be considered in violation of AFL-CIO policy if it has no legal right to move against a local which refuses to surrender its charter.

PRESIDENT Harry C. Bates of the Bricklayers placed his union's support behind the resolution after Mr. Meany's clarification. Mr. Bates and Mr. Meany pointed out that the Bricklayers' constitution contained no authority to take away charters of Southern Negro locals, some of which are seventy-five years old.

Mr. Randolph, while supporting the resolution as a voluntary policy, said:

"I don't believe that a group of Negro members of a union have a right to maintain a Jim Crow local."

AFL-CIO President George Meany disagreed. He said:

"I believe that a group of members of a Negro union that want to stay in the way they are have a right to stay the way they are."

In a review of civil rights developments in the twenty months following the last AFL-CIO convention, the delegates found progress in some areas, progress that has been "much too slow" in others and progress "altogether stymied" in still others.

The review noted the extension of the AFL-CIO drive against all forms of discrimination, the development of a growing network of civil rights agencies by state and city central bodies, and establishment of the AFL-CIO Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights.

The work of the President's Committee on Government Contracts was commended and the committee was urged to direct the withholding of federal contracts from firms guilty of discrimination. Amendment of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to empower the Attorney-General to seek injunctive relief in civil rights matters was demanded.

During the convention the delegates heard Dr. Benjamin B. Mays, president of Atlanta's Morehouse College, declare that the labor move-

ment can do more than any other organization to abolish discrimination in employment. The speaker added:

"As labor leads in this direction, I believe management will follow."

Dr. Mays urged labor to fight against every kind of discrimination, saying his plea was not for the nation's 17,000,000 Negroes but for democracy in America. The college head, who also is president of the United Negro College Fund, urged labor to increase its support of higher education.

Education must remain free and independent, he said, and just as management furthers its viewpoint by supporting education, so labor has "a philosophy and point of view" which should be instilled in millions of young people.

Dr. Mays expressed thanks for organized labor's support of the thirty-three member colleges of the United Negro College Fund located in the East and the South. He said these institutions help to develop the untapped Negro manpower and thereby are strengthening the nation.

While praising labor's efforts in behalf of minority groups, Dr. Mays said that "we must express the hope that organized labor will do even more to see to it that the color bar is completely erased in the unions of the North and the South."

He said he was aware of the "stiff resistance" that is met, but "labor is one, and all men who toil belong together."

"If labor is divided," said the Morehouse College head, "the economy is weakened and we play into the hands of those who are not friendly toward labor."

In a resolution on civil liberties, the convention asked Congress to adopt a code of fair practices covering security programs. The proposed code would guarantee the right to confrontation of accusers and cross-examination of witnesses; the right to specific charges, to subpoena witnesses, to a detailed written decision, to be examined and judged only as to the likelihood of unauthorized disclosures; and the right to reconsideration of past decisions.

Civil Rights Resolution

IN THE twenty months since our last convention, the AFL-CIO continued to press forward its activities and extend the scope of its drive against all forms of discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin.

In the civil rights program of the AFL-CIO, prior attention has been given to the remaining problems of discrimination within the ranks of our own trade union movement. The work of our Civil Rights Committee and its Compliance Subcommittee has been reinforced by a growing network of civil rights agencies established by our state and city central bodies as well as national and international affiliates. Closer working cooperation of our Department of Civil Rights with these trade union agencies has been established, making our entire civil rights program more effective.

In addition to the case-by-case handling of complaints under the established compliance procedure, the program has been broadened to provide for careful review and handling

of the problems on a regional basis. The first major step in this direction was the establishment of the AFL-CIO Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights, made up of executive officers of our state bodies in thirteen Southern states.

Another important step designed to strengthen the effectiveness of the program has been the planning of local community-wide surveys of the prevalence and acceptance of fair practices by our affiliates against the background of employment and other related patterns in the community.

In all of these pursuits toward the universal acceptance within our movement of the AFL-CIO's non-discrimination goal, there is clear and urgent need for greater and more effective participation in our civil rights program on the part of our affiliates, national, state and local. By mobilizing the vast human resources of our movement into active participation in our civil rights program, by recruiting the members of our every local union into active committee work to

further our civil rights program, we can develop the most effective force in America for stamping out discrimination in every field of life.

Another one of the foremost civil rights tasks pursued by the AFL-CIO in the past twenty months has been the insistence on fair employment practices by employers. Further assistance has been provided by our Department of Civil Rights to our affiliates in negotiating non-discrimination clauses in collective bargaining agreements with employers and in setting up machinery for effective enforcement of these clauses.

In these efforts we have been severely handicapped by the lack of responsive cooperation from the majority of employers and by the total absence of any concern in civil rights on the part of all national employer associations. In fact, in a number of instances occurring in certain portions of the South, employers have gone so far as to promote full-fledged race hate campaigns among their employees in order to get these employees to vote

against the union in the National Labor Relations Board elections.

THE PROBLEM of civil rights in our country is a national problem involving the whole American community.

On the national scene, in the twenty months since our last convention, there has been progress in extending to all Americans the constitutional promise of equal justice under law and assurance of equal opportunity without discrimination. Yet in many areas this progress has been much too slow. In fact, in some areas civil rights progress has been altogether stymied.

The federal courts have continued to insist that discrimination and segregation in schools, public transportation and other public facilities are repugnant to the rights envisaged by the Constitution and expressed in the rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court.

In the face of the tenacious adherence by the federal judiciary to this constitutional concept of equal justice and equal opportunity for all Americans, and in response to rising insistence on the part of the right-minded and fair-minded citizens, the artificial structure of "massive resistance" in Virginia has been crumbling and the willful defiance of the law in Little Rock, Arkansas, has been petering out.

It is notable, however, that by the end of 1958 it was reported that only 790 out of 2,890 of bi-racial school districts in seventeen Southern states and the District of Columbia had achieved a substantial measure of school desegregation. This meant that four and a half years after the historic Supreme Court decision a large majority of bi-racial school districts had yet to begin desegregation. In the light of these facts, absence of significant action by the Administration and Congress to help implement the Supreme Court's civil rights decisions can only be regarded as a tragic failure.

The Civil Rights Act of 1957 continued in its limited operation and the persistent efforts of labor and its friends to make the law more effective have met with the refusal of Congress to enact a meaningful civil rights bill containing the vital provision to broaden the powers of the Attorney-General to seek injunctive relief in civil rights matters.



George Thomas of Packinghouse Workers told how Negroes feel when advised to have patience.

The President's failure in 1957 to give backing to the enactment of this vital provision then embodied in Title III of the pending civil rights bill was in the pattern of his retreat from effective leadership in the field of civil rights and from the exercise of his full responsibility as the Chief Executive to help implement the historic civil rights decisions of the Supreme Court.

In contrast to the disappointing record of Congress in this field in 1959, this year has marked substantial progress in the enactment of civil rights laws by state legislatures. In all, twenty-four laws dealing with elimination of racial discrimination were enacted by fourteen states in 1959.

Maine became the twenty-fourth state to enact an enforceable law to prohibit discrimination in places of public accommodation. California and Ohio (where the so-called "right to work" laws were defeated in referenda) have brought to sixteen the number of states which have enacted enforceable laws banning discrimination in employment. Led by Colorado, four states have adopted broad fair housing legislation, following the path recently marked at the municipal level by New York and Pittsburgh.

These notable advances in civil rights legislation at the state level were a measure of the rising public support behind measures designed to end discrimination and segregation. In sharp contrast was the failure of Congress to match these advances with significant action of its own to reflect the increasing public demand for such action.

This reinforces our conviction that

changes in Senate Rule 22 are urgently needed to enable the Senate majority to prevail.

In the meantime, the United States Civil Rights Commission, after overcoming many delaying obstacles, conducted hearings and investigations in the field of voting rights, of discrimination in public education and of discrimination in housing. The commission uncovered flagrant violations of civil rights in these areas. In its notable report just issued, the Civil Rights Commission has formulated, after careful consideration and searching study, a set of fourteen forthright and constructive recommendations designed to safeguard equal rights of all Americans in voting, schools and housing.

We especially welcome and endorse the commission's recommendation for legislation authorizing local federal officials to act temporarily as registrars where necessary to assure the right to vote to all citizens in federal elections.

IT IS REGRETTABLE that, in dealing with discrimination in housing, the commission overlooked the key problem of rehousing minority families displaced by urban renewal. The commission's recommendation on housing and urban renewal falls short of the need, and we welcome the supplementary statement on housing by Commissioners Hesburgh and Johnson with regard to this point.

It is up to the federal government to take the lead in the task of making secure and fully meaningful for all American citizens the right to equal justice under law and equal opportunity in every field of life and work.

To make sure that such leadership is exercised by public servants sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States, labor must spearhead the mobilization of the widest possible support by citizens of public actions needed to secure their civil rights. Now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, The AFL-CIO will press on with renewed vigor its drive to make fully secure equal rights for all Americans in every field of life and to assure to all workers, without regard to race, creed, color or national origin, the full benefits of union organization.

In order to mobilize the full resources of the labor movement in making effective the civil rights policy

embodied in our constitution, we urgently call on all our affiliates to set up without delay internal civil rights committees and staff machinery of their own for effective administration of a meaningful civil rights program within their ranks, to work in close cooperation with the Civil Rights Committee and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO.

We ask our affiliates to take prompt and effective action to prevent or correct any action or procedure of their local unions denying to any worker the full benefits of union membership because of race, creed, color or national origin, or otherwise contravening the civil rights policy of the AFL-CIO.

We call on our affiliates to take appropriate action to eliminate segregation of their local union membership on the basis of race or color. There is no blinking of the fact that segregation is discrimination. Just as we cannot accept the maintenance of separate but equal schools, so we refuse to countenance the existence of separate but equal unions in the ranks of our movement. We ask for a concerted effort by each of our affiliates having local unions with membership segregated on the basis of race to eliminate such segregation with all possible speed.

We call on our affiliates not to permit dual seniority lists and to insist on complete non-discrimination by employers in hire, tenure and conditions of employment and in advancement of their employees. We ask that to this end a non-discrimination clause be included in every collective bargaining agreement, whether national or local, negotiated by each union, and that effective administration of such a clause be assured.

We recommend that the President's Committee on Government Contracts direct the contracting agencies involved to withhold government contracts from employers who are found guilty of violating the federal government's policy of non-discrimination. We shall continue to cooperate with the President's Committee on Government Contracts and ask our affiliates to ensure the compliance by employers with whom they deal and who are performing work under a federal contract with the letter and spirit of the non-discrimination clause required in each government contract.

We urge earliest possible Senate

action to change Senate Rule 22 to make it possible for the Senate majority to prevail.

We renew our support for the passage of an enforceable federal Fair Employment Practices Act. We also renew our call for the enactment of enforceable fair employment practice laws by all states and cities not having such laws and for strengthening of such existing laws to ensure their effectiveness.

We support the enactment of enforceable state and local statutes making unlawful discrimination in housing and in places of public accommodation on account of race, creed, color or national origin.

We ask that, to the end of eliminating discrimination and segregation in housing because of race, creed, color or national origin, federal standards be established requiring that all housing built with the aid of federal funds or credit or any other form of financial assistance or guarantee be made available to minority families on an equal basis with all other families.

We call for the enactment of a proper federal Civil Rights Law to

make possible enforcement of the civil rights of our citizens, including a grant of powers to the Attorney-General to seek injunctive relief in cases involving abuses of the rights of American citizens.

We again urge the National Labor Relations Board to adopt the policy that the use of race-hate propaganda during union organization campaigns is deemed to be interference with and coercion of employees and constitutes an unfair labor practice; and, further, that the use of such propaganda will constitute sufficient ground for setting aside an election upon request of the union.

We commend the Civil Rights Committee and the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO for their diligence in pursuing the civil rights goal set in the AFL-CIO constitution. We approve the formation by the AFL-CIO of regional advisory committees on civil rights, the conduct by our affiliates of local community civil rights surveys, and all other appropriate means of enlisting active participation of our entire membership in the vital task of making our civil rights program more effective.

Resolution on Imports Voted by Convention

CONTINUED support of the reciprocal trade agreements program—with modifications that may be necessary to protect American workers and industries from unfair foreign competition—was voted by the San Francisco convention.

The convention cited the escape clause in the Trade Agreements Act under which the Federal Tariff Commission, after determining that an American industry has been seriously injured or threatened by imports, may recommend to the President the withdrawal or modification of tariff concessions or the imposition of import quotas.

"We urge in the administration of the escape clause," the resolution said, "that maximum emphasis be placed on safeguarding absolute historic levels of domestic production so as to prevent drastic production cut-backs or employment displacement in domestic industries as a result of sudden influxes of competing products.

"In such cases the domestic indus-

try should be required to make a positive showing of serious injury or threat of serious injury."

The resolution reiterated the AFL-CIO's traditional demand for incorporation of the principle of fair labor standards in international trade as an essential feature of U.S. trade policy, and called on the government to advocate such standards in forthcoming international tariff negotiations.

The resolution also repeated labor's stand that where increased imports have adversely affected U.S. industries, the government should provide various types of assistance to workers, firms and communities; urged government policies which would prevent unfair competition resulting from sales of raw materials to foreign users at less than the domestic price; renewed support for machinery to administer the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and called on the Executive Council to give continuing study to the import problem.

Convention Castigates Backers of Unfair Laws

LAWS THAT HAMPER labor's growth must be wiped from the statute books, the AFL-CIO's third convention declared. A resolution adopted by the San Francisco gathering condemned the "reactionary coalition" in Congress that turned an anti-corruption bill into the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act.

"The American labor movement has proved itself to be a force for good," the resolution declared, but labor's job will not be finished until "every vestige of exploitation and poverty is eliminated." The resolution said "poverty, hunger and want" still exist in the nation.

"We do not intend to stop," the convention said. "We will not let anyone block us. We intend to roll the union on, no matter how tough the job becomes."

Acknowledging a "severe setback" for labor at the hands of reactionaries in Congress, the delegates pointed out that the "few corrective features" of the Landrum-Griffin Act, designed to expose corruption and safeguard union democracy, were supported in principle by the AFL-CIO. Provisions that increase the unfairness of the Taft-Hartley Act, such as making it more difficult for workers to form unions, "have nothing to do with corruption," the convention said.

There is no anti-corruption purpose in the new law's provisions "requiring workers to handle sweatshop goods" or "restricting the rights of workers to inform the public about the facts of a labor dispute," the resolution observed.

"We do not believe that the Congressmen who voted for the iniquitous features of this bill were under any illusions. * * * We think they were cravenly subservient to the employer lobby. * * * It was a sad day for the American labor movement and American democracy and a disgraceful day for Congress and the President when this law was passed."

The 13,500,000 AFL-CIO members must determine how they will live with the new law, the convention said.

Labor must see what sections "must be fought in the courts" and "what accommodations" unions must make in their practices.

The convention directed the Executive Council to make available to all unions such assistance and guidance as they may need to achieve compliance with the new law. It instructed the Committee on Political Education to reach every AFL-CIO member with "an accurate voting record of the Eighty-sixth Congress, clearly stating how each member of Congress voted on the key rollcalls."



Delegates were chilly to Labor Secretary Mitchell.

The labor movement will obey the law of the land, the delegates said, but it will also "continue vigorously" its historic fight for the constitutional right of free speech.

The convention expressed labor's "unceasing determination" to elect to national office and to Congress "men and women of liberal and progressive mind, regardless of party label."

Big business was castigated for "pressing a heavy barrage of anti-union propaganda, restrictive anti-labor legislation and direct intensified pressure at the bargaining table itself" in a resolution adopted by the convention. A continuing fight by organized labor for wage increases and the improved fringe benefits to

which productive workers are entitled was pledged by the parley.

"The trade union movement will not knuckle under," the convention said. "The multi-pronged attack is being recognized for what it is. It will be exposed, fought and turned back. We will in unity meet the bargaining pressure in whatever industries it is applied."

"We know well that if big business interests succeed in clubbing some unions into submission, the incentive and groundwork will be set for similar crackdowns on the others."

The delegates warned against being deluded by propaganda claims of big business that pay hikes will cause "inflation." The fraudulent picture of unions as synonymous with restrictive "work rules" should not be swallowed either, they added.

THE loudest shouters about "inflationary wages" are the industries whose profits soar highest, and the industries making the most noise about "work rules" are those in which union acceptance of and cooperation in technological advances have led to the sharpest gains in production, the convention's resolution declared.

If unions are "beaten into ineffectiveness" and forced to accept wage freezes or only token increases, the resolution warned, purchasing power will fail to keep pace with increasing production and the imbalance between production and consumption will grow.

The country's potential scientific and technological progress, it was pointed out, can support an "accelerating advance" in non-wage contract provisions if the economy expands as it should.

"We cannot allow the voice of organized workers to be reduced to a whisper," the resolution said. "The nation's economic health and growth and, in turn, American ability to survive and serve as a bulwark for the free world are at stake."

Working People of U.S.

Saluted by Admiral

FREEDOM cannot be ignored or taken for granted, Admiral Arleigh Burke, Chief of Naval Operations, told the AFL-CIO convention. The great danger facing this country, he said, is to become "complacent about freedom."

Admiral Burke paid tribute to labor for protecting the rights of free men inside and outside its own ranks. He listed the expulsion of Communist-dominated unions and labor's wholehearted support of freedom's cause during wars and crises.

"This action was free and voluntary," the speaker said. "It was not dictated by government. It was not dictated by political party. You acted as free men of principle."

It is the role of the military, Admiral Burke added, to protect the values of free men. He reviewed America's deterrent strength in aircraft carriers and manned bombers and the retaliatory arsenal of missile-firing and nuclear-powered submarines as well as land-based intercontinental missiles.

The Chief of Naval Operations made it clear that the United States is not trying to match any other nation in weapons, for "their needs are not our needs."

"We are trying to provide what we need on one basis—to see that the United States maintains the capability to clobber anyone daring to attack us—or our allies—no matter how hard he first strikes," Admiral Burke declared.

Another speaker was Martin B. McKneally, national commander of the American Legion. He told the delegates that the United States must regain its faith in the face of an increasing cynicism at home and the existence of communism abroad.

"A nation is great only if its soul is great," he declared.

Commander McKneally said the American people still cherish the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, adding:

"But not to the point of insisting that their principles take precedence



Admiral Burke shakes hands with James A. Suffridge, president of Retail Clerks. In middle, W. C. Doherty of the Letter Carriers.

over expediency. We know that our heroic forefathers gladly gave their lives to gain our liberty, but we are embarrassed to talk about it."

The Legion chief warned that the nation's present posture was defensive in times troubled by two forces. One was the "powerful, deadly, purposeful conspiracy of world communism," while the other, he said, was the replacement of faith and patriotism at home by a "curiously sterile and shallow cynicism."

Mr. McKneally said every American willingly pays taxes to help lessen suffering abroad, an action based on belief in the human family. And yet, he added, "our way of life has been attacked, our generosity abused, our motives impugned." The American reaction, he said, has been a feeling of futility growing out of an "inferiority complex."

Mr. McKneally said that Americans at this time appear to lack confidence and a sense of direction. This has led to "a false and destructive image" of America overseas, when a "true image" would dispel re-

sistance and strengthen the free world.

The failure of America to "project" itself has brought on the stalemate with Russia which faces us with the alternatives of extinction of the human race or compromise on principle, the Legion's leader warned.

The Khrushchev visit represented a reversal of policies which had been supported by the American people, Mr. McKneally pointed out.

The Legion head said he hoped there would be "no accommodation" by the United States on recognition of Communist China or admission into the United Nations.

John M. Gleason, national director of the Boys' Clubs of America, addressed the convention and presented the "Man and Boy Award" to President Meany. The speaker thanked the AFL-CIO for the "outstanding support and assistance" the labor movement has given to the 530 boys' clubs across the nation. He added:

"We have advanced through the years, and I am happy to say that we fully recognize all that you are doing and will continue to do."

Unions in Other Lands Are Also Under Attack

ORGANIZED labor is now under attack in many countries, the AFL-CIO convention was told by speakers from other nations.

Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress and a fraternal delegate to the convention, reported that labor in his country is "a target for exactly the same kind of attacks that are being made on labor in the United States."

Mr. Jodoin listed for the delegates "the most vigorous efforts" since the founding days of the Canadian labor movement to push through federal and provincial legislation to "cripple unions, drain them of their funds and make legal strikes and picket lines something of the past."

He also cited efforts to drive a wedge between the traditionally close relationships of U.S. and Canadian labor and a smear campaign "to tar all labor with the brush of racketeering."

Frank Cousins, general secretary of Britain's Transport and General Workers and a fraternal delegate from the British Trades Union Congress, observed that on hearing some of the delegates speak he sometimes thought some leaders of his country's Conservative government were in the United States giving guidance "on how to approach the unions."

Fred Hayday of the National Union of General and Municipal Workers, also a fraternal delegate from Britain, cited action of the British government in rescinding legislation which permitted one party to a labor-management dispute to invoke arbitration in a bargaining stalemate.

Pinhas Lavon, general secretary of Histadrut, the Israeli labor federation, declared that in many countries attempts are being made to "weaken the power and importance of labor."

The most effective force for fighting reaction and building a stable and just economic society is the organized free labor movement, President Arne Geijer of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions told the convention.



Claude Jodoin reported efforts to cripple Canada's unions.

"The international trade union movement has a vital part to play in providing better working and living conditions for the working people of our respective countries," he said. "We have an equally vital role to play in creating, extending and making more secure the foundation of our democratic society."

Mr. Geijer told of some of the ICFTU's activities in bringing unionism to underdeveloped nations and hailed the AFL-CIO pledge of substantial support for the International Solidarity Fund of the ICFTU for 1958, 1959 and 1960.

CONFIDENCE was expressed by Mr. Cousins that the U.S. and British labor movements would continue to work for the advancement of trade unionism in the new nations developing in areas that until recently were colonies and proposed a greater exchange of visits between American and British unionists.

Mr. Cousins informed the convention that the Transport and General Workers Union would like to see a cessation of all nuclear testing.

"We are not afraid in a physical sense," he explained, "but we are afraid that the pollution of the atmosphere that is going on can be stepped up to such an extent that we will not be arguing about who won a war but about who caused us to be in the situation we are."

Mr. Cousins told the convention that there are many in the British trade union movement who do not believe an "endless" arms race is the way to real progress.

"Real progress among the peoples cannot be sought by producing ever more horrifying weapons of mass destruction," he said. "Nor do we lightly disregard the fact that the widespread use of these weapons brings the danger that war can be started by accident and not by deliberate design."

Mr. Hayday, whose father was a TUC fraternal delegate to the 1915 convention of the American Federation of Labor, predicted that as a result of the government's easing of arbitration requirements, there will be a return to "the more traditional methods and the more traditional

militant" attitude of British labor in dealing with employers.

Mr. Lavon was warm in his thanks to America and American labor for the assistance they gave his country when it was emerging as a nation. In the changing world, he said, labor needs a new concept of its duties and goals if trade unionism is to continue as an instrument serving the needs of free workers.

Mr. Lavon told the convention that Histadrut recognizes its duty to "raise the standard of living of the Arab population."

"The character of the Arab village in Israel has undergone a revolutionary change," he said. "Education and health services are provided on an equal basis, and the Histadrut protects the trade union interests of the Arab worker equally with its Jewish members. The result has been that the standard of living of the Arab wage-earner and farmer in Israel has no counterpart in any neighboring Arab country of the Middle East."

Bruno Storti, general secretary of the Italian Confederation of Labor (CISL), told the convention that some Italian employers have adopted a tough attitude toward the unions with the aim of destroying the principle of collective bargaining. Democratic labor has succeeded in preventing passage of a law for the regimentation of unions, he reported.

"We don't want to repeat in Italy the tragic experience of fascism," Signor Storti said. "Organized labor must be independent of every external force, be it government, political parties or religious domination."

The Italian Confederation of Labor will always fight any move toward the appeasement of communism, he declared.

President Geijer of the ICFTU reminded the convention that free trade unionism is an essential part of democratic society.

"The existence of a democratic political society is a necessary condition for the survival of a free trade union movement, and the existence of a free trade union movement is also a necessary element for a developed political democracy," he said.

Serious economic inequities in the world must be resolved, Mr. Geijer declared. Otherwise, a political climate will be created "which will encourage the growth of communism and other dictatorships."

"The most effective force that can fight these tendencies toward political reaction and build a stable and just economic society," the ICFTU's president said, "is the organized free trade union movement."

"To meet this challenge, we have established the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Our movement is growing in numbers and in influence day by day."

"Our world organization is only as strong and influential as our members themselves make it. In union there is strength. This does not mean that we shall always on every issue and at every time be 100 per cent in agreement on internal questions. We are a world trade union movement based upon democratic principles which allow for differences of opinion on methods and tactics. However, our world organization can effectively meet the challenges to it only if it can rely upon the loyal support of all its members."

"The tasks before our world organization are enormous. We wish to do our job well and we must have adequate resources in order to allow the widest affiliation of unions from all parts of the democratic world. Affiliation fees have been deliberately held to a modest level."

"In order to have more adequate funds to finance the growing activities of the ICFTU, the International Solidarity Fund was created. To this special fund come the voluntary contributions from those national trade union centers able to fulfill this financial obligation. We are pleased to note that the AFL-CIO has pledged to this special fund for the years 1958, 1959 and 1960 the sum of

\$1,000,000. Corresponding pledges have been made by our Canadian colleagues and by our established trade union centers in Europe. Already significant work is under way as a result of these voluntary contributions."

"To mention only a few, we have established a resident trade union training college in Kampala, East Africa, and we are now constructing our own building, which will be ready for occupancy at the end of 1960. We also have an extensive educational program in Latin America. We are pleased that the AFL-CIO has made available competent staff personnel to assist in both of these projects."

THE challenge before us is enormous. Millions of workers are unorganized. Throughout our world nearly 50 per cent of mankind works and lives under the rule of dictatorship. Extreme poverty and misery are the lot of millions of additional workers only now crossing the threshold of the Twentieth Century. In Africa, in Asia and Latin America, the workers cry out for a helping hand. Our international organization must have the resources and the personnel needed to bring the hope of free trade unionism, of bread and freedom to these impoverished workers. Resolutions and speeches will not suffice. We must show in action what international solidarity means.

"Every member of the ICFTU, whether he is American, European, Latin American, Asian or African, has a personal stake in the success of the ICFTU. Each of our members should have the personal opportunity to make his contribution to its success."

"As a step in this direction, my fellow workers in Sweden have decided to solicit voluntary contributions of at least one dollar per member for a total contribution of at least \$1,000,000 toward this international solidarity action. This solicitation will be made within the next few months and will consist of voluntary contributions for at least a three-year period. We have undertaken this campaign for more adequate solidarity funds because we know that the ICFTU must have greater resources if a real job is to be done."

"The international trade union movement has a vital part to play in providing better working and living conditions for the working peo-



Frank Cousins was one of two fraternal delegates from Britain.

ple of our respective countries. We have an equally vital role to play in creating, extending and making more secure the foundation of our democratic society.

"This obligation, while it may be more dramatic in the underdeveloped areas, is equally urgent in the highly industrialized countries. The agents of totalitarianism have enormous resources at their disposal which they spend lavishly wherever they find the situation favorable for their propaganda.

"We have important and urgent work before us, and time is short."

General Secretary Alfonso Sanchez Madariaga of the Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT) brought the convention the fraternal greetings of the working people of the Americas who fight to improve the conditions of all who toil "and consequently to promote

the social and economic progress of all the peoples of this hemisphere."

The general secretary of the ORIT, in his address to the convention, castigated the Communists, the oligarchies, the military dictatorships and "companies which seek super-profits through the payment of low wages." The Communists, he said, are attempting to create hate, disunity and disorder "to further the plans of Soviet totalitarianism."

"The oligarchies which keep the land concentrated in the hands of a few," said Señor Sanchez Madariaga, "are the best support of dictatorships that prevent the existence of freedom and democracy. We must strive to free these great masses of population from the poverty, unhealthy conditions and ignorance in which they live, as a necessary step to making possible the social and economic progress of each nation. And we

must fight to make a reality of the full exercise of the rights of man and the complete enjoyment of democratic freedom that will put an end, once and for all, to dictatorial governments in our hemisphere.

"In the struggle for freedom and democracy, for an end to misery and the improvement of living conditions for all our peoples, we recognize the important daily collaboration given us by our sister organization, the AFL-CIO.

"The unity of working people throughout the hemisphere is essential to preservation of the unity and fraternity of our nations and the stemming of Communist activities."

The convention was also addressed by labor representatives from Algeria, Morocco and West Berlin. Among those observing the proceedings were trade unionists from France, Japan and other countries.

Serving the Community

VOLUNTARY health, welfare and recreation agencies must become "more representative to the people and more responsive to human need," the AFL-CIO convention declared as labor rededicated itself to its traditional role of active participation in a wide-ranging program of community services.

The convention listed these community service goals:

▶To encourage equitable labor representation on agency boards.

▶To stimulate labor participation in formulating agency policies and programs.

▶To assist unionists and their families in time of need, particularly during strikes, layoffs and unemployment.

▶To plan labor participation in local civil defense and disaster relief programs.

▶To coordinate fund-raising drives, through voluntary federation where possible, for health and welfare services.

▶To participate in efforts to improve social work standards and practices.

Vice-President Joseph A. Beirne, president of the Communications Workers, appealed to the delegates to "get more active in your own or-

ganization, in your central body, in your own neighborhood and in your own community" to take care of the needs "that are still so great in America."

"The AFL-CIO community services program contains the tools for those you represent to become so active," he said, "that the heart of America will never stop to beat strongly in making the community a real neighborhood.

"This is a work where strife, economic differences and all the differences that people have can evaporate, because it is a work that digs inside of your very guts, crying for you to help, crying for you to take the leadership you possess in helping the maimed and the hurt and the sick and in helping those without means and those who are depressed, in helping those who are in the slums, helping those who are diseased and sick and disabled.

"If you do not give the leadership you are capable of giving, there is a vacuum in your community that cannot be filled by anyone else."

The convention paid tribute to efforts being made by the Joint Blood Council to establish a comprehensive national blood program and pledged labor support to this campaign to

achieve uniformity in the nation's network of voluntary blood banks.

Delegates also reaffirmed support for continuing efforts to achieve fluoridation of water supplies.

In a separate resolution the convention recommended establishment of a voluntary federation of independent health agencies "for the purposes of raising funds for all member agencies once a year, allocating such funds on the basis of relative needs and coordinating basic medical research programs."

Until establishment of such a federation, the resolution said, organized labor through AFL-CIO Community Service Activities "will continue to work with the voluntary health agencies."

In its report to the convention, the Executive Council said that "a sweeping expansion" of labor's community services had occurred in the period since the 1957 convention.

The AFL-CIO is concerned about juvenile delinquency and has been working on this problem with other community groups, the Council's report pointed out.

Labor led in developing the experimental citizen apprenticeship program at Sharon, Pennsylvania, in the past two years, it was noted.

No Plan Now in Works for New Truck Union

DISCUSSION of the Teamsters' situation was touched off at the third AFL-CIO convention during debate on adoption of the Executive Council's report. The issue was raised by Al Hartnett, secretary-treasurer of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, who expressed dissatisfaction that the report had contained no mention of any AFL-CIO move to organize in the Teamsters' jurisdiction.

Mr. Hartnett cited the success of AFL-CIO efforts to provide clean successor unions to the expelled Bakery and Confectionery Workers and the Laundry Workers, both of which were ousted in 1957 because of corrupt domination, and of moves to clean up other unions which worked out successfully.

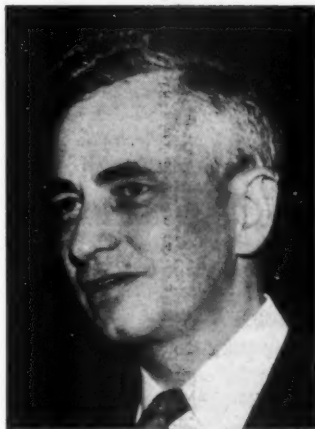
"We have a duty to go out and campaign against the Teamsters' Union just as the old CIO unions were required to campaign against the Communist-dominated unions after their expulsion," he said.

He called upon the AFL-CIO to "assume a role of militant aggressiveness against those who hold those people prisoners."

President Meany explained that no organizing campaign has been directed against the Teamsters because the situation in that union and the industry in which it operates differs very greatly from that in the other expelled unions and their respective industries.

Mr. Meany pointed out that there were large groups among the Bakery Workers and Laundry Workers poised to reaffiliate with the AFL-CIO the moment the old unions were ousted. They actually did move over, and with AFL-CIO aid mounted organizing campaigns that have cut deeply into the expelled organizations.

President Meany told the convention that the problem of the Teamsters has been studied by the Executive Council and the Executive Committee, and the AFL-CIO's officers concluded that "it is the part of wisdom"



Try should be made, said Vice-President Jim Carey.

not to attempt to charter a new union.

"Maybe this situation will change and maybe it will not," he said. "However, until it changes to the point where we have some assurance that these people can live, that they can form a new union away from these people [Hoffa and his henchmen], we have got to mark time."

Mr. Meany, observing that "it is all very well to make comparisons," referred to clean labor's fight in 1954 to defeat the expelled International Longshoremen's Association in an NLRB election. With a little over 20,000 votes cast, he recalled, the forces of clean labor lost that election by only 159 votes.

There was a situation where about 10,000 workers were ready to "stand up and fight" to be a part of the recognized labor movement, Mr. Meany pointed out.

"Very frankly, we do not have that situation in the Teamsters," he said.

Vice-President James B. Carey, president of the International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, told the convention:

"I would suggest that we do see what we can do. We are not suggesting that a charter be issued. We are suggesting that work be engaged in as was engaged in in the case of the Longshoremen and the Bakers and of

the UE by the American labor movement, so that the day will arrive when we can unite the labor movement—with the Teamsters free of corruption today and as the ILA is free of corruption. We just submit to you that we don't think we should leave it just to the Teamsters to accomplish that purpose."

A week earlier, in his address to the convention of the International Labor Press Association, Mr. Meany blasted James Hoffa as deserving the "credit" for Landrum-Griffin.

"I would list him as labor's No. 1 enemy," he declared.

He said Hoffa's actions before the McClellan Committee and when the labor bills were under consideration in Congress were completely in keeping with the Hoffa record "as a 'labor leader'—in quotes."

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION OF AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, published monthly at Washington, D. C., for October, 1959.

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4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bonafide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was _____. (This information is required only from daily, weekly, semi-weekly and tri-weekly newspapers.)

(S) Bernard Tassler,

Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of September, 1959.

(Seal) Josephine M. Carney,

Notary Public.

My commission expires July 31, 1963.

'60 Set as Target Year for Forand Bill Passage

PASSAGE of the Forand bill in 1960 was strongly advocated by the third biennial convention of the AFL-CIO. The bill, which would expand the social security system to include medical, hospital and nursing home care, has had extensive House hearings.

In urging passage of the Forand bill at the next session of Congress, the convention said:

"It would not only save millions of families from anxiety, financial bankruptcy and needless suffering, but it would also relieve the financial difficulties now threatening many hospitals and welfare agencies, both private and public."

The resolution pointed out that, although the Eisenhower Administration testified against the Forand bill, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming "in no way" suggested that the bill could not be effectively administered.

The AFL-CIO blasted the American Medical Association's opposition, charging that the AMA continues to exaggerate the bill's cost, distort its effects and deny its necessity.

The AMA arguments have been "exploded by actual experience," the delegates said.

The convention also asked Congress to enact a broad program of federal aid to expand health research and facilities.

Aid was urged for schools training medical and related personnel in the form of grants for construction and expansion, equipment, research, scholarships and daily operations. The convention also called for a step-up in present health research programs and maximum aid and creation of an international medical research program.

The convention also urged other social security amendments to:

▶Raise the earnings ceiling to keep pace with rising wage levels.

▶Reduce the rule for computing benefits to a limit of the five years of highest earnings.

▶Pay disability benefits before 50.

▶Allow women to receive regular benefits at age 60.

▶Increase the primary benefit for each year a worker stays on the job past age 65.

Those supporting repeal of the retirement test were asked to join labor in seeking amendments to add health benefits and raise monthly amounts for the great majority of the aged who cannot earn more than the \$1200 now allowed.

Congress was urged to pass the Humphrey bill to make federal loans available to consumer-sponsored direct service health plans. In supporting the Humphrey bill and group health plans, the delegates expressed labor's aim to obtain more effective use of health and welfare funds through a "vast expansion" of group health facilities.

The convention said group plans find it difficult to secure capital for expansion from foundations, community drives, commercial loans or other sources.

The convention expressed labor's concern over "the persistence of large numbers of low-income people" across the nation.

"It is poor economy for a nation with such great resources to permit people, especially children, to live under substandard conditions which breed misery, illness, maladjustment

and crime," the delegates pointed out.

They urged the removal of such qualifications as residence requirements, ceilings on property holdings and life insurance, which often bar assistance to the needy. The convention also asked that HEW's Bureau of Public Assistance furnish Congress with regular reports on budget standards used by states and the extent to which they meet people's needs.

On the Forand public assistance bill, the convention urged Congressional passage so each state would be able to choose a new and more generous system of federal grants to aid the needy without regard to residence requirements.

Appropriations for federal grants for training and research were advocated.

The comprehensive program envisioned by the Forand public assistance bill is needed, the convention said, because such assistance today helps people "very unevenly, with serious deficiencies in many states and localities."

Special organizations of the aged were invited to join with the labor movement in seeking legislation to improve social insurance benefits, add health benefits to social security, win low-cost housing, protect jobs and gain tax improvements.

Delegates Back Boycott of Swift & Co. Products

MEMBERS of two AFL-CIO unions were pledged the full support of the American labor movement in their strike against Swift and Company, the nation's largest meat packer. The unions are the Packinghouse Workers and the Meat Cutters.

The San Francisco convention of the AFL-CIO blasted Swift for its anti-union drive. The company was scored for attempting to weaken

contract provisions that have been in effect for years and to substitute its own terms. Swift has flatly refused to follow an industry pattern established in negotiations with Armour and subsequently negotiated with a majority of companies in the packing industry.

Charging the company with attempting to break the strike of its employees, the convention called for a boycott of Swift products.

Administration Rapped on Natural Resources

A BROAD U.S. resources policy based on sound principles was vigorously advocated by the San Francisco convention of the AFL-CIO. It pledged organized labor to work with other citizens' organizations to obtain such a policy.

"America's natural resources dilemma is created by the lack of a comprehensive, unified resource policy in the face of tremendous population growth, by the mushrooming of cities, by accelerated industrial expansion and by responsibilities of world leadership," the convention said.

"Over the past six years the Eisenhower Administration has showed no awareness of the pressing need to plan ahead for land, water and energy development on a scale commensurate with the dimensions and urgency of the problem. The Administration has attempted time and again to turn back the conservation clock to the pre-Teddy Roosevelt era. The situation instead calls for decisive action now."

The AFL-CIO program reaffirmed the responsibilities of the federal government as "principal steward" of natural resources for the people. The

government must lead in the harnessing of additional river systems along the TVA pattern, the convention declared.

In addition, the convention said, the federal government must protect all public resources against private monopolization, continue the yardstick principle of public competition with private utilities, modernize the power supply system and cooperate with the United Nations to help achieve the full development of natural resources in all countries.

A separate resolution on minerals demanded a program in this critical field to protect the worker, the industry and the community by stockpiling metals and to maintain markets for metals and minerals the United States must get from abroad.

The federal government should assist workers, mines and communities affected by the closing of high-cost and inefficient mines, the convention said.

Long-range objectives include federal aid to mineral exploration and development, production subsidies and promotion of an international agreement to stabilize worldwide production and price levels.

Technological Effects Get Convention Scrutiny

THE AFL-CIO welcomes technological progress, the San Francisco convention declared, but the hard-won rights of working people must be guarded. The convention adopted a resolution calling for "equitable and orderly" procedures to be worked out in collective bargaining "to ease the potential disrupting effects of radical technological change on wage- and salary-earners."

The convention called for a wide-ranging conference to examine the various problems posed by technological progress and to explore "the feasibility of shortening the work-week without reduction of wages."

A resolution approved by the convention urged that the Joint Economic Committee of Congress recommend policies designed to cushion the dislocations that result from rapid

technological change. The resolution noted that technological change has reduced the manpower needs for production and maintenance workers and for semi-skilled and unskilled workers in particular.

The recent acceleration in technological change, the convention declared, has been accompanied by a big business propaganda campaign charging that trade unions block productive efficiency. The aim of this "campaign of falsehood" is to weaken unions in their attempts to protect workers' rights, the delegates said.

"In the not too distant future," the delegates said, "the present pace of technological change will be accelerated even further with the widespread introduction of nuclear energy for peacetime use and the possible harnessing of solar energy."



David Dubinsky, ILGWU's head, was on Resolutions Committee.



Clothing Workers' group included this alert lady.



Lewis McCracken (left) of Glass and Ceramic Workers chats with Newton Black of the Glass Bottle Blowers.

Label's Value Stressed

THE UNION LABEL may prove one of labor's mightiest weapons, President Jacob S. Potofsky of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers told the AFL-CIO convention last month. The delegates adopted a resolution calling on all union families to wield "our strength as consumers" behind the "invisible picket line of the union label, the shop card and the service button."

The resolution, which was given unanimous approval, pledged the fullest support to the AFL-CIO Union Label and Service Trades Department, urged all unions to affiliate with the Department and called on all unions to intensify their union identification activities.

"Our power as consumers is unassailable," the convention said. "No laws can deprive us of the right to insist on union-made products and services. No court can enjoin us from demanding a union label, a union shop card and a union service button. No sheriff's deputies can handcuff our role as members of the consuming public."

Mr. Potofsky pointed out that the union label stands both as a symbol of labor's achievements and also as a "most potent organizing weapon." He told how the Clothing Workers' label campaign brought into line companies which had fought off unionism for twenty and thirty years after these companies realized that their sales would be adversely affected unless the union label was on their products.

"No law, no court, no injunction,



Greater use of the union label was urged by Jacob S. Potofsky, president of Clothing Workers.

no sheriff's deputies, no Barry Goldwater, no U.S. Steel can take away our right to buy what we want to buy," Mr. Potofsky said.

"I think it is understandable," Mr. Potofsky said, "why we of labor have not used this tool as much as we should have. Perhaps we were not aware of its usefulness. But now that the enemies of labor are pressing their attack on us, it is imperative that we use this tool and use it well and properly. If we do not, we will have only ourselves to blame.

"If we use this great weapon with intelligence and determination, there is almost nothing that we cannot achieve. If each and every one of us makes it his solemn obligation to refuse to buy anything unless it is union-made, you will see how fast non-union manufacturers will change their line."

During his talk, Mr. Potofsky mentioned anti-union Congressman Howard Smith of Virginia, adding:

"Let me remind you that a Howard Smith depends first of all on money being spent for the products of his district. If business in his district finds it cannot sell its products because they are not union-made, even a Howard Smith will think about labor in a different way."

The president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers said fullest use of the label depends upon education.

"We must educate our own members and millions of others who are in sympathy with our goals so that they understand in their heart of hearts what the union label means."

Earlier, in an address to the convention of the Union Label and Service Trades Department, President George Meany of the AFL-CIO declared that, as labor begins to operate under the restrictions contained in the Landrum-Griffin Act, "the union label is going to be more important than ever before."

Mr. Meany told the delegates:

"In order to counteract some of the bad provisions of the law, it will be necessary to use the union label method by which American workers at least have a right to tell the world and to tell their fellow workers that this or that article is made under union standards and union conditions, and that it should be purchased by those who believe in the ideals of the trade union movement."

With emphasis on the union label, Mr. Meany said the labor movement will be able to meet the latest "in a long line of challenges" and will come out victorious.

M. A. Hutcheson, president of Carpenters and Joiners.



Mrs. J. B. Anderson of Barbers and Hairdressers.

Roy Tillman (left) of Oklahoma and Elmer Cope of Ohio AFL-CIO.



NLRB Held Anti-Union

THE National Labor Relations Board is "unfair, one-sided and anti-union," the third biennial convention of the AFL-CIO declared. The delegates called on the Eisenhower Administration to observe a better balance between management and labor in its appointments to the Board so that it "will administer even-handed justice under the law, instead of reflecting the viewpoint of a particular economic group."

The convention adopted a resolution pointing out that the NLRB had continued to pursue its anti-union course in the period since the Atlantic City convention.

"Disputed issues of law or fact tend to be resolved in favor of employers and against unions," the resolution said. "The Board is supposed to be an independent, quasi-judicial agency, biased neither in favor of labor nor management. But the appointees of the present Administration, of which the Board is now entirely composed, repeatedly display pro-management bias."

Several of the Eisenhower Administration's appointees to the Board and two as general counsel have left to return to their prior careers as employer attorneys or labor relations consultants, the convention noted.

"It would be a considerable accomplishment for men whose pasts were spent and whose futures lie with management to achieve even-handed justice as between management and labor," the delegates said. "They don't."

The convention was critical of the NLRB for its interdiction of peaceful picketing by minority unions, its sanction of employer brain-washing of captive audiences of employees before representation elections, its penalizing of unions in cases involving union security or hiring, agreements it considers unlawful, its revised jurisdictional standards and its ever-growing backlog of undecided cases.

An angry protest against the Labor Board's long delay in handing down a decision in the complaint of Auto Workers' Local-833 against the Kohler Company was unanimously registered by the convention.

A resolution urging the Board to make "immediate amends" pointed

out that it took the Wisconsin plumbing supplies manufacturer only twenty-nine days to get an injunction restraining the union from picketing after the strike began on April 5, 1954.

"Five years and two months after the UAW first filed charges," the resolution said, there is "still no decision from the Board." The resolution noted that almost two years have

gone by since the trial examiner's intermediate report, and the latest word is that the Board's ruling won't come before the spring of 1960 at the earliest.

The disparity of "dispensing justice with speed on the one hand and with agonizing delay on the other" is calculated, the convention declared, to discourage strikes and slowly to destroy the labor movement.

Entry on Probation Okayed for ILA

ADMISSION of the International Longshoremen's Association on a two-year probationary basis was authorized by the San Francisco convention in the discretion of the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

The Council has found that the ILA is "in substantial compliance" with the principles and standards of the AFL-CIO, but it is felt that additional progress by the union is "desirable." For this reason the ILA's status will be conditional.

Several speakers at the convention described changes in the ILA, which was expelled from the American Federation of Labor in 1953 because of domination by corrupt influences.

President George Meany told the convention:

"Amazing progress has been made. The average take-home pay went from \$52 to \$102.50 in 1957 due to the elimination of this so-called casual labor that was representing the outside racketeers that were taking the cream of the work, while the people who depended for their livelihood on longshore work went begging for jobs.

"This is all changed. We have reached the situation where we can say with some pride that we did some good when we kicked them out and we are now ready to take them back. And if we can get to the same stage with the Teamsters, I will be the first one to say 'take them back.'"

Joseph Curran, president of the

National Maritime Union, who served on the special committee which looked into changes in the ILA, had this to say:

"We came to no other conclusion except that tremendous progress had been made on all of the fronts on which the ILA had been brought on the carpet and had been subsequently expelled for."

A. Philip Randolph, president of the Sleeping Car Porters, charged that the union is discriminating against Negro and Puerto Rican workers. He asked the elimination of these practices as a condition of admission.

In the ensuing discussion President Meany and Mr. Curran reviewed the changes in the ILA and Seafarers' President Paul Hall joined in supporting the ILA's admission. Mr. Hall said Negroes still are barred from some crafts, but Negro employment has risen on the docks.

Two key conditions will apply for two years after the ILA's entry.

One condition enables the AFL-CIO president or his representative to require reports from the ILA, to issue directions and to attend all ILA executive council meetings. The second empowers the AFL-CIO Executive Council, by majority vote and without convention action, to suspend or expel the ILA or take other action if it finds that the ILA has failed to comply with directives during the probationary period.

Parley Demands Action to Strengthen Education

FEDERAL action to strengthen the nation's educational system was urged by the AFL-CIO's third biennial convention. Such action is needed to meet a "critical challenge," the convention declared.

"We must educate and strengthen ourselves," the delegates warned, "or we will perish."

Americans can no longer enjoy the "above the battle" attitude which has characterized the Eisenhower era, the convention said.

"We must knuckle down to the job of regaining technological and educational superiority," asserted a statement by the Committee on Education which was approved by the delegates. "We must educate and strengthen ourselves or we will perish."

Noting that American trade unions have supported the idea of education for all for more than 130 years, the convention said that the present school crisis is the greatest ever.

"The fundamental issue is whether we want and will invest in an educational system adequate to the unprecedented demands of the space age or whether what remains of our school system will be allowed to continue its rapid deterioration," the convention declared.

"The world's leading democracy, dedicated to the self-determination and self-rule of peoples everywhere, spends only a relative pittance on the educational system which must provide most of its youth with the understanding necessary to rule themselves."

The convention stressed the "urgent" need for the following five-point program:

- ▶Federal aid for "fair" teachers' salaries.

- ▶Federal aid to end the classroom shortage.

- ▶Federally aided scholarships for higher education.

- ▶Expansion of apprenticeship and vocational education.

- ▶Congressional and executive initiative to bring "speedy compliance" with the Supreme Court's decision

against segregation in public schools.

The "real reason" behind opposition to federal aid, the convention said, is that if the opponents "cannot avoid all taxes in support of schools, at least they can be sure" that working people pay the lion's share, the convention declared.

Criticism of the Eisenhower Administration was registered. The delegates said it has made half-hearted proposals for aid but has failed to give even these proposals serious support. Government leadership is needed to win fair salaries for teachers, the convention declared.

The program of the American Federation of Teachers for higher salaries for qualified teachers won the support of the convention. It also put labor's support behind the union's efforts to win collective bargaining rights.

The 1957-58 school year began with 91,200 "emergency" full-time teachers with substandard certificates, and in the new school year the situation has worsened to a total of 92,337, it was noted.

The lack of qualified teachers was traced to low pay. The average teacher's salary was only \$4520 for the 1957-58 school year, it was pointed out.

Noting that total school enrollment has risen to nearly 34,000,000, the convention commented that "inevitably the question arises as to whether we are exploiting our teachers or our children or both."

The 1958 classroom shortage was estimated by the U.S. Office of Education to total 140,500, the parley said. This included more than 65,000 classrooms for the 1,800,000 students in excess of capacity and over 75,000 more classrooms to replace obsolete facilities.

"The problem is that an inadequately staffed school system, operating on a grossly inadequate budget and poorly housed, cannot even properly identify, much less encourage, our brighter children," the convention declared.

On scholarship aid, the AFL-CIO noted recent surveys showing that nearly 100,000 students in the top quarter of their graduating classes were kept from going to college by lack of funds.

The convention declared labor's opposition to any kind of "need" or "means" test for scholarships and to restriction of aid to science, languages or mathematics. The arts, humanities and related fields deserve as much consideration, the delegates said.

"Our position is that the right to a thirteenth through a sixteenth year of schooling—for those able to benefit by it—should be a broad social right which this richest country in history can provide," the convention asserted.

REFERRING to recent establishment of junior colleges in many communities, the convention said:

"As a companion to these we should develop technical institutes at the same level. These could serve as 'graduate schools' for our apprentices. Their purpose would be to complete the trinity of opportunities for the highly skilled workmen demanded by this complex technology which provides our high standard of living."

It was pointed out that there is a need for "more training and retraining than ever before."

"The worker in electronics, for example, is today a highly skilled craftsman," the convention said. "Those who will construct and those who will operate industrial units powered by atomic energy require training in depth in many subject areas. Production, maintenance and operation control of automated equipment cannot be accomplished without a rigorous and prolonged training."

In a resolution dealing with desegregation of the public schools, the convention condemned "any subterfuge by which American boys and girls are denied full and complete educational opportunities."

McClellan Committee Blistered by Delegates

THE THIRD convention of the AFL-CIO denounced the McClellan Committee. The convention said the group headed by Senator John McClellan of Arkansas had devoted itself to "an ill-concealed effort to discredit and weaken and, if possible, destroy the free and democratic trade union movement."

Delegates adopted a resolution which charged that during most of its existence the committee had been "little more than a vehicle of reactionary elements seeking to discredit labor for 'partisan political purposes.'"

During floor discussion of the resolution, Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the Auto Workers, hit the committee's "kangaroo court" tactics and urged that the Executive Council give "serious consideration" to revising the AFL-CIO's codes of ethical practices to guarantee labor a "fair hearing" before Congressional committees in the future.

He urged the AFL-CIO not to cooperate with Congressional bodies "unless we have the proper rules and regulations," including a bill of particulars so that labor witnesses will know in advance what the alleged charges against them are, a statute of limitations "to protect ourselves against matters that happened twenty-five or thirty years ago" and the right to cross-examine adverse witnesses.

The UAW officer attacked Republican Senators Barry Goldwater, Karl Mundt and Carl T. Curtis, all of whom served on the committee, charging that they did "a hatchet job on the organized labor movement."

The AFL-CIO, said the resolution adopted by the convention, "is committed by word and deed to freeing the American labor movement and to keeping it free from every taint or suspicion of corruption and racketeering."

To that end, carrying out the mandate of the federation's constitution against corruption, codes of ethical practices were adopted and vigorous action was taken to clean out the

small group of crooks and racketeers that infiltrated the labor movement, the resolution continued.

The convention noted that the AFL-CIO cooperated with unions determined to clean house, expelled unions "which could not or would not strive" to rid themselves of corrupt influences, supported enactment of "genuinely fair and effective anti-racketeering and anti-corruption legislation" and cooperated with all appropriate agencies "whenever we were convinced that they were sincerely desirous" of getting at corruption and racketeering.

WHEN the McClellan Committee was established, the resolution continued, the AFL-CIO "sincerely hoped that it would make a significant contribution." The resolution conceded that at the outset it "may have served a useful purpose in bringing to light certain facts concerning those criminal and corrupt influences that have fastened themselves upon a small segment of labor."

"Unfortunately the committee has virtually ignored the much greater degree of corruption in business and other sectors of the American economy," the convention said.

The convention ticked off this list of grievances against the Senate unit:

►The procedures of the McClellan Committee "never adequately protected the rights of witnesses or of those accused by witnesses."

►The committee "put individuals on trial in the press and by television," many questions were asked "for publicity purposes" and some committee members "rendered verdicts of guilty before hearing the testimony."

►The committee was "far too often used as a vehicle for whipping up hysterical support for anti-labor legislation." Some members "sought to use the committee" to challenge the very right of the trade union movement to exist by moving more and more "into matters totally unrelated to the problem of labor corruption."

►Because of the "anti-labor bias" of some members, the committee "failed to investigate effectively management corruption." Instead, it "focused powerful spotlights on those few corrupt individuals who are in unions, while it deliberately sought to block the public's view of corruption on a huge scale in business."

The convention's resolution on the McClellan Committee, in its criticism of the committee's failure to conduct effective investigations of management corruption, said:

"There are two sides to corruption, but this committee has refused to look at the management side. The committee has focused powerful spotlights on those few corrupt individuals who are in unions, while it has deliberately sought to block the public's view of corruption on a huge scale in business. For every bribe-taker, there is a bribe-giver. For every corrupt individual in organized labor, there are scores of corrupt individuals in other segments of society."

"The few instances of corruption in organized labor have sponsorship or links with unscrupulous persons in the business community. Although the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce lead the campaign to blacken the name and reputation of free trade unionism, these organizations do nothing to eliminate the corrupters, crooks and law-breakers from their ranks."

"Neither do they or their political friends make an efforts to establish and enforce codes of ethical practices for the business community, whose widespread actual practices of corruption and evasion of law set the tone for American society."

"Yet, although the Senate charged the committee with investigation of malpractices in management as well as in unions, the committee has closed its eyes to the evidence on all sides of fraud, mismanagement of fiduciary funds and corruption in the business community."

Mergers Are Hailed

SATISFACTION that forty-eight of the fifty states have achieved merger and that a total of 436 city central bodies have unified was registered by the AFL-CIO in its third biennial convention. Among state bodies, merger remains to be completed only in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. It is expected that completion of state and city merger will be achieved by the end of the year.

State and city mergers have helped to strengthen the trade union movement, the convention declared.

A committee report commended state councils which have striven for enactment of progressive legislation and against numerous anti-labor laws, and singled out for special praise those state and local bodies which "performed a tremendous job in beating back the 'right to work' attack in 1958."

"Although some beneficial legislation has been enacted in a number of states since our last convention," the report said, "the past two years have also seen a considerable number of reactionary statutes enacted in many states."

"Thus, organized labor, working through state and local central bodies, still has a tremendous job to do in securing enactment of needed state legislation to advance the interests of workers and the entire community."

"To advance state legislative programs advocated by the AFL-CIO and its affiliates, your committee recommends continuous exchange of information and ideas among state bodies so that the state bodies can mutually reinforce our total labor effort in the state legislatures throughout the country."

The committee report commended the "cooperation and support" given by state and city central bodies to the federation's national legislative programs.

"The legislative objectives of organized labor can be achieved only if the millions of trade union members in each section of the nation, acting as citizens and trade unionists, will seek to obtain the support of their representatives in Congress for labor's legislative goals," the report said.

"State and local central bodies can



Joseph Beirne praised work of state and city AFL-CIO units.

make an important contribution by spreading information on and mobilizing support for the AFL-CIO legislative programs. Therefore, it is particularly important that there be developed the closest possible cooperation between the legislative committees of the state and local central bodies and the Department of Legislation of the AFL-CIO."

Leaders of AFL-CIO national and international unions were urged to take appropriate action to lead all locals to participate actively in the affairs of state and local central bodies. The convention endorsed a report of the Constitution Committee which declared that effectiveness in carrying out labor's total program on the state and local levels is "implemented" by central bodies created under the AFL-CIO constitution.

Lack of participation by local unions, the committee reported to the convention, impedes the progress that can and should be made. There have been great forward strides in the last two years, the report said, in building up the membership of state and local bodies. Despite this progress, the committee added, "there are still more than one-third of the local unions not affiliated."

The committee complimented national and international unions which "make it mandatory for their local unions" to belong to central bodies. However, the committee recommended and the convention agreed not to concur in a resolution which would have had the federation impose mandatory affiliation.

During general debate Delegates

Sam Ezelle of the Kentucky State AFL-CIO, August Scholle of the Michigan State AFL-CIO, George W. Johns of the San Francisco Labor Council, Albin Gruhn of the Humboldt and Del Norte (California) Labor Council and W. F. Strong of the Maryland-D.C. AFL-CIO spoke in favor of the resolution which would have compelled affiliation.

President Joseph A. Beirne of the Communications Workers, chairman of the committee, which recommended non-concurrence, opposed the proposal on the ground it would change the "basic structure" of the AFL-CIO.

Agreeing with the committee and opposing any compulsion, President Meany declared the resolution would change the federation into a structure centrally controlled.

"This is a federation of national unions," he said. "The AFL-CIO did not create the national unions; the national unions created the AFL-CIO."

CHAIRMAN Beirne, explaining the report of the committee, declared:

"We said to this convention, and it is now a matter of record, that we are urging every national and international union to take the kind of steps within that body that would suggest and that would bring about the joining of their locals to these central bodies."

"We mean that sincerely. We are in complete sympathy with the work being done by the leaders, by the locals in these central bodies. * * *

"But to us it was absolutely impossible, without changing the entire structure of our federation, to say now it is mandatory for all locals of every national and international union to belong to these various central bodies. * * *

"So the committee, in weighing all this up, being completely in the corner of these central body leaders and members who are urging that more and more of the locals belong, being completely in sympathy with that aim, knowing of the great work done by these central bodies, we nonetheless balanced all these other problems which outweighed the good that would come by making it mandatory to join the central bodies."

At Our Third Convention



New chief of the Street Railway Employees, John M. Elliott, chatted with George Meany



Peter McGavin (left), assistant to Mr. Meany, discussed problems with Bill McFetridge, BSEIU head.



State labor topics were talked over by John Rollings (left) of Missouri and Victor Bussie of Louisiana body.

Detailed Financial Report Is Lauded

A DETAILED financial report by Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler was placed before the delegates at last month's AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco. The financial report was a part of the 365-page Executive Council report spelling out the record of the federation since the Atlantic City convention.

The convention commended "the clear and concise accounting of finances" submitted by Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler. The "extensive" financial reports, the convention declared are "living proof" of the AFL-CIO's dedication to ethical practices and complete disclosure of financial resources.

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler's report showed that, despite the expulsion of four unions from the AFL-CIO and the disaffiliation of a fifth, the AFL-CIO has successfully sur-

vived the resulting loss of income.

In addition to the AFL-CIO's financial statements, Mr. Schnitzler's section of the Executive Council report contained the financial report of the trustees of the AFL-CIO organizers' pension plan and the AFL-CIO staff retirement plan as well as the Council's financial report on the AFL-CIO International Free Labor Fund. A table listed the paid membership of all affiliated unions for the years 1955, 1957 and 1959.

Membership of affiliated unions, as shown by their per capita dues payments, stood at 12,671,000 as of June 30, 1959, an increase of 366,000 since the merger convention in 1955 but a decline of 80,000 from the 1957 figure. Not included are the four expelled unions. Those organizations had a total of 1,565,000 members.

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler commended the officers of the AFL-CIO's directly affiliated local unions for their "excellent" cooperation with the AFL-CIO Auditing Department, which has the job of seeing that the directly affiliated locals maintain their financial records properly. The Auditing Department makes an annual audit of the accounts of every direct local.

As of September 30, 1957, there were 608 directly affiliated local unions with a total membership of 132,000, Mr. Schnitzler's report noted, while on June 30 of this year there were 507 such units with a total membership of 108,000. Seventy-one locals with 18,500 members have affiliated with appropriate international unions. Thirty locals with a membership of 700 have disbanded.

Convention Asks Housing Action

NEARLY one-fourth of all dwellings in which 13,000,000 families are forced to live are below minimum standards of decency, the third AFL-CIO convention declared.

"Good homes for American families are still a major unmet need," the conclave asserted.

Pointing out that only a greatly expanded low-rent public housing program can provide the opportunity for low-income families to obtain decent housing, the delegates at San Francisco warned that many moderate-income families are also pushed out of today's housing market because the prices are too high.

"America has the skilled manpower, the materials and equipment and the financial resources to assure every family the opportunity to obtain a decent home," the convention said.

"All that is required to achieve this goal is a forward-looking imaginative housing program."

The convention's resolution on housing said the recognized goal of the nation's housing policy should be

"high-level housing activity assuring construction of at least 2,250,000 dwellings a year."

While granting that non-residential use of former slum sites may be appropriate in some circumstances, the resolution insisted that the foremost purpose of urban redevelopment "must be to provide decent homes in well-planned communities within the financial reach of ordinary American families."

To protect "hard-won standards" of building trades workers, the convention said, at least the prevailing wage should be required on all housing construction "under any program involving federal financial assistance."

"For low-income families displaced by urban renewal and other public projects, as well as other low-income families in need of decent housing they can afford," the resolution asserted, "a minimum of 200,000 low-rent public housing units should be authorized for construction each year as an essential part of the overall housing program."

"Low-interest, long-term loans should be made available to provide good homes at reasonable rates for hundreds of thousands of moderate-income families who cannot afford the exorbitant financial charges and sky-high rents now required to obtain good housing."

"This type of financing should be made available on a sufficient scale to assure construction of at least 500,000 units of cooperative, rental and sales housing meeting adequate standards of construction, space and availability of community facilities and services."

Noting that home purchase is not suitable or desired by some families, the resolution urged liberal financial assistance for the construction of good rental housing "with appropriate safeguards against profiteering."

Housing for senior citizens, rural housing, segregation and discrimination, cooperative housing and legislation to permit temporary lapses of mortgage payments in emergencies were other topics covered in the comprehensive resolution.

Expand Labor Press, Parley Urges

THE CONVENTION urged expansion and improvement of the bonafide labor press and a stepped-up public relations program.

Noting that it is the job of the AFL-CIO to "provide leadership," the convention adopted a resolution which called upon the Executive Council to "explore ways and means through which the communications facilities of the AFL-CIO, its affiliated unions and its state and city central bodies can be more closely integrated and more effectively used and that all media of public communications be completely utilized so that union members and the general public will obtain a true picture of the labor movement's aspirations and the role of labor in our democratic society."

The following is a condensation of other portions of the resolution:

"The AFL-CIO has redoubled its efforts to bring before the general public a full and accurate picture of its actions and its aims. The AFL-

CIO public relations program has been expanded to include television, direct mail and speakers' bureaus, in addition to general press and radio services. The AFL-CIO publications program has been intensified and extended into new areas.

"But these efforts have been all but overwhelmed by the virtually complete control of public media of communications—press, radio and television—by those who oppose the philosophy and objectives of the labor movement.

"Further measures must be taken. The communications facilities now existing in the labor movement must be better utilized and their expansion must be encouraged.

"There is a need for wider support, greater circulation and improved readership of AFL-CIO publications and those of affiliated unions and subordinate bodies. There is a need for an expanded and improved trade union press on the state level. There is a need for fuller use of radio and

television, through both free time and purchased time. To meet these needs, a closer working relationship must be achieved among the AFL-CIO, its affiliated unions and the state and city central labor bodies in their public relations and publications activities, internal and external.

"The International Labor Press Association, whose efforts to improve the technical quality of labor papers and to expose racketeers who masquerade as labor publishers have had excellent results, should have the full support of all trade union publications.

"The new and broadened public relations program of the AFL-CIO is only the beginning.

"This is not a task which can be done completely by the federation alone, any more than a single national or international union could do the job alone. But by pooling our resources, talents and energies in the field of public relations, we can make substantial and meaningful progress."

AFL-CIO FINANCIAL REPORT

JULY 1, 1958, TO JUNE 30, 1959

MAIN AND COMPANY
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
WASHINGTON 4, D. C.

ACCOUNTANTS' CERTIFICATE

American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Washington, D. C.

August 31, 1959

We have examined the financial records of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations for the six-month periods ending December 31, 1958 and June 30, 1959. Our examinations were made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

We have also examined the accompanying Labor Organization Financial Report (Form RA-1 (F) of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1959. In our opinion, the information contained therein is presented fairly in the form and detail specified by the United States Department of Labor.

Main and Company
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS STATEMENT OF ALL INCOME AND EXPENSE (GENERAL FUND AND DEFENSE FUND) FISCAL YEAR BEGINNING JULY 1, 1958, AND ENDING JUNE 30, 1959

Line			Salaries	No. of Persons (as of June 30, 1959)	
1.	Net Worth at the Beginning of the Fiscal Year	6,431,195.82			
	<i>Add: Income</i>				
2.	Per capita taxes from affiliates	8,811,719.15	17. Officers	2	68,000.00
3.	Fees, excluding work permits	-0-	18. Staff	521	3,666,252.50
4.	Work permits	-0-			
5.	Fines	-0-	Allowances		
6.	Assessments	509,434.99	19. Travel and related expenses		1,157,938.93
7.	Income from investments (Dividends, Interest, etc.)	26,911.78	20. Other		-0-
8.	Net income from sale of assets	-0-	21. Taxes		139,647.41
9.	Net income from sale of supplies	71,883.32	22. Fees for legal services		79,803.79
	Other income		23. Fees for other professional services		47,230.24
10.	From members	-0-	24. Office and administrative expenses		1,040,954.81
11.	From affiliated organizations	-0-	25. Benefit payments to or for members or dependents		-0-
12.	From other sources (see Schedule D)	246,814.28	26. Contributions, gifts, grants, etc.		79,904.00
13.	Total Income (Sum of Lines 2 through 12)	9,666,763.52	27. Publications, publicity, and educational expenses		1,567,287.36
14.	Total (Sum of Lines 1 and 13)	16,097,959.34	28. Other expenses (see Schedule G)		1,113,821.33
	<i>Deduct: Expense</i>		29. Total Expense (Sum of Lines 15 through 28)		9,642,477.80
15.	Per capita tax and assessments	461,784.59			
16.	Other payments to affiliated organizations	219,852.84	30. Net Worth at the End of the Fiscal Year (Line 14 less Line 29)		6,455,481.54

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES (ALL FUNDS)**

ASSETS	Beginning of fiscal year July 1, 1958		End of fiscal year June 30, 1959	
	Amount	Total	Amount	Total
Cash:				
1. Petty cash	1,125.00		1,125.00	
2. Revolving funds	65,533.67		63,483.67	
3. Checking accounts	449,790.04		405,106.64	
4. Savings accounts	155,000.00		155,000.00	
5. Cash on Hand	-0-	671,448.71	-0-	624,715.31
Securities				
6. Government bonds	847,490.78		847,490.78	
7. Nongovernment bonds	5,000.00		5,000.00	
8. Corporate stock	15,000.00	867,490.78	15,000.00	867,490.78
Filed Assets (Net of Reserves)				
9. Land and buildings (see Schedule H)		4,901,909.46		4,817,802.92
10. Furniture and fixtures		437,432.65		386,042.38
11. Notes and Accounts Receivable				
a. Advances or loans to officers and staff	-0-		-0-	
b. Other	67,774.24	67,774.24	199,410.06	199,410.06
12. Other Assets (see Schedule K)		595,233.76		729,086.74
13. Total Assets		<u>7,541,289.60</u>		<u>7,624,548.19</u>
LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH				
14. Accounts payable		192,104.82		217,807.04
15. Notes payable		785,342.07		785,342.07
16. Mortgages payable		-0-		-0-
17. Other Liabilities		132,646.89		165,917.54
18. Total Liabilities		1,110,093.78		1,169,066.65
19. Net Worth (excess of assets over liabilities) (line 13 less line 18)		6,431,195.82		6,455,481.54
20. Total Liabilities and Net Worth		<u>7,541,289.60</u>		<u>7,624,548.19</u>

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT SCHEDULES
FISCAL YEAR BEGINNING JULY 1, 1958, AND ENDING JUNE 30, 1959**

Schedule A—Net Income from Sale of Assets

Kind of Property	Year acquired	Gross sales price (contract price)	Cost or other basis	Net value on the books	Expense of sale
Furniture and fixtures	Various	535.00	(Proceeds from sale of minor items of furniture and fixtures are credited directly to the asset account without cost determination or adjustment.)		

Schedule B—Advances or Loans to Officers and Staff

Name of Officer or Staff Member (1)	Balance at beginning of year (2)	Advances or loans during year (3)	Repayments during year (4)	Balance at end of year (5)
None	None	None	None	None

Schedule D—Income from other Sources

Item	Amount
AFL-CIO News	108,021.84
Rental income	103,127.82
All other	35,664.62
Total	<u>246,814.28</u>

Schedule E—Other Allowances

Person	Amount
None	None

Schedule F—Contributions, Gifts, Grants, etc., to officers or staff not reported as salaries or allowances.

Recipient	Amount
None	None

Schedule G—Other Expense

Item	Amount
Employer's contributions to employees' pension plans	309,432.88
Employer's contributions to employees' life insurance and medical plans	155,586.60
Interest	23,887.43
Convention and conference expenses	155,601.45
Headquarters building (other than taxes and salaries, but including depreciation of \$84,106.54)	158,986.81
Depreciation of furniture, fixtures and equipment ..	66,533.30
Disbursements to local unions to sustain authorized strikes or lockouts (from Defense Fund)	191,635.00
Organizational supplies	21,409.25
All other	30,748.61
Total	<u>1,113,821.33</u>

Schedule H—Land and Buildings at June 30, 1959

1. Kind and location of property	2. Year acquired	3. Cost or other basis of valuation	4. Total depreciation charged, if any, on buildings since acquisition	5. Net value as shown on the books
Headquarters, 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.				
Land	1947	863,652.08		863,652.08
Building	1956	4,205,326.82	251,175.98	3,954,150.84
Total		5,068,978.90	251,175.98	4,817,802.92

Schedule K—Other Assets at June 30, 1959

Item	Amount
Per capita taxes receivable	674,887.00
Interest receivable—investments	5,977.50
Employees' travel advances	2,600.00
Prepaid items	45,622.24
Total	729,086.74

Schedule L—Other Liabilities at June 30, 1959

Item	Amount
Unremitted income and social security taxes	73,082.74
Salaries and travel expenses	85,966.80
Funds held in escrow	6,868.00
Total	165,917.54

Schedule M—Assets Pledged or Used as Collateral or Security

Description of Assets	Value	By Whom Pledged or Used
None	None	None



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LABOR-MANAGEMENT REPORTING AND DISCLOSURE ACT OF 1959

Public Law 86-257
86th Congress, S. 1555
September 14, 1959

(This is a reprint of the law as published by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.)

73 STAT. 519.

AN ACT

To provide for the reporting and disclosure of certain financial transactions and administrative practices of labor organizations and employers, to prevent abuses in the administration of trusteeships by labor organizations, to provide standards with respect to the election of officers of labor organizations, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

Section 1. This Act may be cited as the "Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959."

DECLARATION OF FINDINGS, PURPOSES, AND POLICY

Sec. 2. (a) The Congress finds that, in the public interest, it continues to be the responsibility of the Federal Government to protect employees' rights to organize, choose their own representatives, bargain collectively, and otherwise engage in concerted activities for their mutual aid or protection; that the relations between employers and labor organizations and the millions of workers they represent have a substantial impact on the commerce of the Nation; and that in order to accomplish the objective of a free flow of commerce it is essential that labor organizations, employers, and their officials adhere to the highest standards of responsibility and ethical conduct in administering the affairs of their organizations, particularly as they affect labor-management relations.

(b) The Congress further finds, from recent investigations in the labor and management fields, that there have been a number of instances of breach of trust, corruption, disregard of the rights of individual employees, and other failures to observe high standards of responsibility and ethical conduct which require further and supplementary legislation that will afford necessary protection of the rights and interests of employees and the public generally as they relate to the activities of labor organizations, employers, labor relations consultants, and their officers and representatives.

(c) The Congress, therefore, further finds and declares that the enactment of this Act is necessary to eliminate or prevent improper practices on the part of labor organiza-

tions, employers, labor relations consultants, and their officers and representatives which distort and defeat the policies of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended, and the Railway Labor Act, as amended, and have the tendency or necessary effect of burdening or obstructing commerce by (1) impairing the efficiency, safety, or operation of the instrumentalities of commerce; (2) occurring in the current of commerce; (3) materially affecting, restraining, or controlling the flow of raw materials or manufactured or processed goods into or from the channels of commerce or the prices of such materials or goods in commerce; or (4) causing diminution of employment and wages in such volume as substantially to impair or disrupt the market for goods flowing into or from the channels of commerce.

61 Stat. 136.
29 USC 141.
44 Stat. 577.
45 USC 151.

73 STAT. 520.

DEFINITIONS

Sec. 3. For the purposes of titles I, II, III, IV, V (except section 505), and VI of this Act—

(a) "Commerce" means trade, traffic, commerce, transportation, transmission, or communication among the several States or between any State and any place outside thereof.

(b) "State" includes any State of the United States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, American Samoa, Guam, Wake Island, the Canal Zone, and Outer Continental Shelf lands defined in the Outer Continental Shelf Lands Act 67 Stat. 462. (43 U.S.C. 1331-1343).

(c) "Industry affecting commerce" means any activity business, or industry in commerce or in which a labor dispute would hinder or obstruct commerce or the free flow of commerce and includes any activity or industry "affecting commerce" within the meaning of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended, or the Railway Labor Act, as amended.

(d) "Person" includes one or more individuals, labor organizations, partnerships, associations, corporations, legal representatives, mutual companies, joint-stock companies, trusts, unincorporated organizations, trustees, trustees in bankruptcy, or receivers.

(e) "Employer" means any employer or any group or association of employers engaged in an industry affecting

commerce (1) which is, with respect to employees engaged in an industry affecting commerce, an employer within the meaning of any law of the United States relating to the employment of any employees or (2) which may deal with any labor organization concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment, or conditions of work, and includes any person acting directly or indirectly as an employer or as an agent of an employer in relation to an employee but does not include the United States or any corporation wholly owned by the Government of the United States or any State or political subdivision thereof.

(f) "Employee" means any individual employed by an employer, and includes any individual whose work has ceased as a consequence of, or in connection with, any current labor dispute or because of any unfair labor practice or because of exclusion or expulsion from a labor organization in any manner or for any reason inconsistent with the requirements of this Act.

(g) "Labor dispute" includes any controversy concerning terms, tenure, or conditions of employment, or concerning the association or representation of persons in negotiating, fixing, maintaining, changing, or seeking to arrange terms or conditions of employment, regardless of whether the disputants stand in the proximate relation of employer and employee.

(h) "Trusteeship" means any receivership, trusteeship, or other method of supervision or control whereby a labor organization suspends the autonomy otherwise available to a subordinate body under its constitution or bylaws.

(i) "Labor organization" means a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce and includes any organization of any kind, any agency, or employee representation committee, group, association, or plan so engaged in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose, in whole or in part, of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours, or other terms or conditions of employment, and any conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council so engaged which is subordinate to a national or international labor organization, other than a State or local central body.

73 STAT. 521.

(j) A labor organization shall be deemed to be engaged in an industry affecting commerce if it—

(1) is the certified representative of employees under the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, or the Railway Labor Act, as amended; or

61 Stat. 136. 29 USC 167. 44 Stat. 577. 45 USC 151. (2) although not certified, is a national or international labor organization or a local labor organization recognized or acting as the representative of employees of an employer or employers engaged in an industry affecting commerce; or

(3) has chartered a local labor organization or subsidiary body which is representing or actively seeking to represent employees of employers within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2); or

(4) has been chartered by a labor organization representing or actively seeking to represent employees within the meaning of paragraph (1) or (2) as the local or subordinate body through which such employees may enjoy membership or become affiliated with such labor organization; or

(5) is a conference, general committee, joint or system board, or joint council, subordinate to a national or international labor organization, which includes a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce within the meaning of any of the preceding paragraphs of this subsection, other than a State or local central body.

(k) "Secret ballot" means the expression by ballot, voting machine, or otherwise, but in no event by proxy, of a choice with respect to any election or vote taken upon any matter, which is cast in such a manner that the person expressing, such choice cannot be identified with the choice expressed.

(l) "Trust in which a labor organization is interested" means a trust or other fund or organization (1) which was created or established by a labor organization, or one or more of the trustees or one or more members of the governing body of which is selected or appointed by a labor organization, and (2) a primary purpose of which is to provide benefits for the members of such labor organization or their beneficiaries.

(m) "Labor relations consultant" means any person who, for compensation, advises or represents an employer, employer organization, or labor organization concerning employee organizing, concerted activities, or collective bargaining activities.

(n) "Officer" means any constitutional officer, any person authorized to perform the functions of president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, or other executive functions of a labor organization, and any member of its executive board or similar governing body.

(o) "Member" or "member in good standing", when used in reference to a labor organization, includes any person who has fulfilled the requirements for membership in such organization, and who neither has voluntarily withdrawn from membership nor has been expelled or suspended from membership after appropriate proceedings consistent with lawful provisions of the constitution and by laws of such organization.

(p) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Labor.

(q) "Officer, agent, shop steward, or other representative", when used with respect to a labor organization, includes elected officials and key administrative personnel, whether elected or appointed (such as business agents, heads of departments or major units, and organizers who exercise substantial independent authority), but does not include salaried non-supervisory professional staff, stenographic, and service personnel.

73 STAT. 522.

(r) "District court of the United States" means a United States district court and a United States court of any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.

TITLE I BILL OF RIGHTS OF MEMBERS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS BILL OF RIGHTS

Sec. 101. (a)(1) Equal Rights.—Every member of a labor organization shall have equal rights and privileges within such organization to nominate candidates, to vote in elections or referendums of the labor organization, to attend membership meetings, and to participate in the deliberations and voting upon the business of such meet-

ings, subject to reasonable rules and regulations in such organization's constitution and bylaws.

(2) Freedom of Speech and Assembly.—Every member of any labor organization shall have the right to meet and assemble freely with other members; and to express any views, arguments, or opinions; and to express at meetings of the labor organization his views, upon candidates in an election of the labor organization or upon any business properly before the meeting, subject to the organization's established and reasonable rules pertaining to the conduct of meetings: *Provided*, That nothing herein shall be construed to impair the right of a labor organization to adopt and enforce reasonable rules as to the responsibility of every member toward the organization as an institution and to his refraining from conduct that would interfere with its performance of its legal or contractual obligations.

(3) Dues, Initiation Fees, and Assessments.—Except in the case of a federation of national or international labor organizations, the rates of dues and initiation fees payable by members of any labor organization in effect on the date of enactment of this Act shall not be increased, and no general or special assessment shall be levied upon such members, except—

(A) in the case of a local labor organization, (i) by majority vote by secret ballot of the members in good standing voting at a general or special membership meeting, after reasonable notice of the intention to vote upon such question, or (ii) by majority vote of the members in good standing voting in a membership referendum conducted by secret ballot; or

(B) in the case of a labor organization, other than a local labor organization or a federation of national or international labor organizations, (i) by majority vote of the delegates voting at a regular convention, or at a special convention of such labor organization held upon not less than thirty days' written notice to the principal office of each local or constituent labor organization entitled to such notice, or (ii) by majority vote of the members in good standing of such labor organization voting in a membership referendum conducted by secret ballot, or (iii) by majority vote of the members of the executive board or similar governing body of such labor organization, pursuant to express authority contained in the constitution and bylaws of such labor organization: *Provided*, That such action on the part of the executive board or similar governing body shall be effective only until the next regular convention of such labor organization.

(4) Protection of the Right To Sue.—No labor organization shall limit the right of any member thereof to institute an action in any court, or in a proceeding before any administrative agency, irrespective of whether or not the labor organization or its officers are named as

73 STAT. 523.

defendants or respondents in such action or proceeding, or the right of any member of a labor organization to appear as a witness in any judicial, administrative, or legislative proceeding, or to petition any legislature or to communicate with any legislator: *Provided*, That any such member may be required to exhaust reasonable hearing procedures (but not to exceed a four-month lapse of time) within such organization, before instituting legal or administrative proceedings against such organizations or any officer thereof: *And provided further*, That no interested employer or employer association shall directly or indirectly

finance, encourage, or participate in, except as a party, any such action, proceeding, appearance, or petition.

(5) Safeguards Against Improper Disciplinary Action.—No member of any labor organization may be fined, suspended, expelled, or otherwise disciplined except for nonpayment of dues by such organization or by any officer thereof unless such member has been (A) served with written specific charges; (B) given a reasonable time to prepare his defense; (C) afforded a full and fair hearing.

(b) Any provision of the constitution and bylaws of any labor organization which is inconsistent with the provisions of this section shall be of no force or effect.

CIVIL ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 102. Any person whose rights secured by the provisions of this title have been infringed by any violation of this title may bring a civil action in a district court of the United States for such relief (including injunctions) as may be appropriate. Any such action against a labor organization shall be brought in the district court of the United States for the district where the alleged violation occurred, or where the principal office of such labor organization is located.

RETENTION OF EXISTING RIGHTS

Sec. 103. Nothing contained in this title shall limit the rights and remedies of any member of a labor organization under any State or Federal law or before any court or other tribunal, or under the constitution and bylaws of any labor organization.

RIGHT TO COPIES OF COLLECTIVE BARGAINING AGREEMENTS

Sec. 104. It shall be the duty of the secretary or corresponding principal officer of each labor organization, in the case of a local labor organization, to forward a copy of each collective bargaining agreement made by such labor organization with any employer to any employee who requests such a copy and whose rights as such employee are directly affected by such agreement, and in the case of a labor organization other than a local labor organization, to forward a copy of any such agreement to each constituent unit which has members directly affected by such agreement; and such officer shall maintain at the principal office of the labor organization of which he is an officer copies of any such agreement made or received by such labor organization, which copies shall be available for inspection by any member or by any employee whose rights are affected by such agreement. The provisions of section 210 shall be applicable in the enforcement of this section.

Post, p. 530.

INFORMATION AS TO ACT

Sec. 105. Every labor organization shall inform its members concerning the provisions of this Act.

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TITLE II

REPORTING BY LABOR

ORGANIZATIONS, OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS, AND EMPLOYERS

REPORT OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Sec. 201. (a) Every labor organization shall adopt a constitution and bylaws and shall file a copy thereof

with the Secretary, together with a report, signed by its president and secretary or corresponding principal officers, containing the following information—

(1) the name of the labor organization, its mailing address, and any other address at which it maintains its principal office or at which it keeps the records referred to in this title;

(2) the name and title of each of its officers;

(3) the initiation fee or fees required from a new or transferred member and fees for work permits required by the reporting labor organization;

(4) the regular dues or fees or other periodic payments required to remain a member of the reporting labor organization; and

(5) detailed statements, or references to specific provisions of documents filed under this subsection which contain such statements, showing the provision made and procedures followed with respect to each of the following: (A) qualifications for or restrictions on membership, (B) levying of assessments, (C) participation in insurance or other benefit plans, (D) authorization for disbursement of funds of the labor organization, (E) audit of financial transactions of the labor organization, (F) the calling of regular and special meetings, (G) the selection of officers and stewards and of any representatives to other bodies composed of labor organizations' representatives, with a specific statement of the manner in which each officer was elected, appointed, or otherwise selected, (H) discipline or removal of officers or agents for breaches of their trust, (I) imposition of fines, suspensions, and expulsions of members, including the grounds for such action and any provision made for notice, hearing, judgment on the evidence, and appeal procedures, (J) authorization for bargaining demands, (K) ratification of contract terms, (L) authorization for strikes, and (M) issuance of work permits. Any change in the information required by this subsection shall be reported to the Secretary at the time the reporting labor organization files with the Secretary the annual financial report required by subsection (b).

(b) Every labor organization shall file annually with the Secretary a financial report signed by its president and treasurer or corresponding principal officers containing the following information in such detail as may be necessary accurately to disclose its financial condition and operations for its preceding fiscal year—

(1) assets and liabilities at the beginning and end of the fiscal year;

(2) receipts of any kind and the sources thereof;

(3) salary, allowances, and other direct or indirect disbursements (including reimbursed expenses) to each officer and also to each employee who, during such fiscal year, received more than \$10,000 in the aggregate from such labor organization and any other labor organization affiliated with it or with which it is affiliated, or which is affiliated with the same national or international labor organization;

(4) direct and indirect loans made to any officer, employee, or member, which aggregated more than \$250 during the fiscal year, together with a statement of the purpose, security, if any, and arrangements for repayment;

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(5) direct and indirect loans to any business enterprise, together with a statement of the purpose, security, if any, and arrangements for repayment; and

(6) other disbursements made by it including the purposes thereof; all in such categories as the Secretary may prescribe.

(c) Every labor organization required to submit a report under this title shall make available the information required to be contained in such report to all of its members, and every such labor organization and its officers shall be under a duty enforceable at the suit of any member of such organization in any State court of competent jurisdiction or in the district court of the United States for the district in which such labor organization maintains its principal office, to permit such member for just cause to examine, any books, records, and accounts necessary to verify such report. The court in such action may, in its discretion, in addition to any judgment awarded to the plaintiff or plaintiffs, allow a reasonable attorney's fee to be paid by the defendant and costs of the action.

(d) Subsections (f), (g), and (h) of section 9 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, are hereby repealed. **61 Stat. 143. 29 USC 159.**

(e) Clause (i) of section 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by striking out the following: "and has at the time the agreement was made or within the preceding twelve months received from the Board a notice of compliance with sections 9 (f), (g), (h)."

REPORT OF OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Sec. 202. (a) Every officer of a labor organization and every employee of a labor organization (other than an employee performing exclusively clerical or custodial services) shall file with the Secretary a signed report listing and describing for his preceding fiscal year—

(1) any stock, bond, security, or other interest, legal or equitable, which he or his spouse or minor child directly or indirectly held in, and any income or any other benefit with monetary value (including reimbursed expenses) which he or his spouse or minor child derived directly or indirectly from, an employer whose employees such labor organization represents or is actively seeking to represent, except payments and other benefits received as a bona fide employee of such employer;

(2) any transaction in which he or his spouse or minor child engaged, directly or indirectly, involving any stock, bond, security, or loan to or from, or other legal or equitable interest in the business of an employer whose employees such labor organization represents or is actively seeking to represent;

(3) any stock, bond, security, or other interest, legal or equitable, which he or his spouse or minor child directly or indirectly held in, and any income or any other benefit with monetary value (including reimbursed expenses) which he or his spouse or minor child directly or indirectly derived from, any business a substantial part of which consists of buying from, selling or leasing to, or otherwise dealing with, the business of an employer whose employees such labor organization represents or is actively seeking to represent;

(4) any stock, bond, security, or other interest, legal or equitable, which he or his spouse or minor child directly or indirectly held in, and any income or any other benefit with monetary value (including reimbursed expenses) which he or his spouse or minor child directly or indirectly derived from, a business any part of which

consists of buying from, or selling or leasing directly or indirectly to, or otherwise dealing with such labor organizations;

(5) any direct or indirect business transaction or arrangement between him or his spouse or minor child and any employer whose employees his organization represents or is actively seeking to represent, except work performed and payments and benefits received as a bona fide employee of such employer and except purchases and sales of goods or services in the regular course of business at prices generally available to any employee of such employer; and

(6) any payment of money or other thing of value (including reimbursed expenses) which he or his spouse or minor child received directly or indirectly from any employer or any person who acts as a labor relations consultant to an employer, except payments of the kinds referred to in section 302(c) of the

Post, p. 537. Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended.

(b) The provisions of paragraphs (1), (2), (3), (4), and (5) of subsection (a) shall not be construed to require any such officer or employee to report his bona fide investments in securities traded on a securities exchange registered as a national securities exchange under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, in shares in an investment company registered under the Investment Company Act of 1940, or in securities of a public utility holding company registered under the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935, or to report any income derived therefrom.

48 Stat. 881.

15 USC 78a.

54 Stat. 789.

15 USC 80a-51.

49 Stat. 803.

15 USC 79.

(c) Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to require any officer or employee of a labor organization to file a report under subsection (a) unless he or his spouse or minor child holds or has held an interest, has received income or any other benefit with monetary value or a loan, or has engaged in a transaction described therein.

REPORT OF EMPLOYERS

Sec. 203. (a) Every employer who in any fiscal year made—

(1) any payment or loan, direct or indirect, of money or other thing of value (including reimbursed expenses), or any promise or agreement therefor, to any labor organization or officer, agent, shop steward, or other representative of a labor organization, or employee of any labor organization, except (A) payments or loans made by any national or State bank, credit union, insurance company, savings and loan association or other credit institution and (B) payments of the kind referred to in section 302(c) of the

Post, p. 537. Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended;

(2) any payment (including reimbursed expenses) to any of his employees, or any group or committee of such employees, for the purpose of causing such employee or group or committee of employees to persuade other employees to exercise or not to exercise, or as the manner of exercising, the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choos-

ing unless such payments were contemporaneously or previously disclosed to such other employees;

(3) any expenditure, during the fiscal year, where an object thereof, directly or indirectly, is to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, or is to obtain information concerning the activities of employees or a labor organization in connection with a labor dispute involving such employer, except for use solely in conjunction with an administrative or arbitral proceeding or a criminal or civil judicial proceeding;

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(4) any agreement or arrangement with a labor relations consultant or other independent contractor or organization pursuant to which such person undertakes activities where an object thereof, directly or indirectly, is to persuade employees to exercise or not to exercise, or persuade employees as to the manner of exercising, the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing, or undertakes to supply such employer with information concerning the activities of employees or a labor organization in connection with a labor dispute involving such employer, except information for use solely in conjunction with an administrative or arbitral proceeding or a criminal or civil judicial proceeding; or

(5) any payment (including reimbursed expenses) pursuant to an agreement or arrangement described in subdivision (4);

shall file with the Secretary a report, in a form prescribed by him, signed by its president and treasurer or corresponding principal officers showing in detail the date and amount of each such payment, loan, promise, agreement, or arrangement and the name, address, and position, if any, in any firm or labor organization of the person to whom it was made and a full explanation of the circumstances of all such payments, including the terms of any agreement or understanding pursuant to which they were made.

(b) Every person who pursuant to any agreement or arrangement with an employer undertakes activities where an object thereof is, directly or indirectly—

(1) to persuade employees to exercise or not to exercise, or persuade employees as to the manner of exercising, the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing; or

(2) to supply an employer with information concerning the activities of employees or a labor organization in connection with a labor dispute involving such employer, except information for use solely in conjunction with an administrative or arbitral proceeding or a criminal or civil judicial proceeding;

shall file within 30 days after entering into such agreement or arrangement a report with the Secretary, signed by its president and treasurer or corresponding principal officers, containing the name under which such person is engaged in doing business and the address of its principal office, and a detailed statement of the terms and conditions of such agreement or arrangement. Every such person shall file annually, with respect to each fiscal year during which payments were made as a result of such an agreement or arrangement, a report with the Secretary, signed by its president and treasurer or corresponding principal officers,

containing a statement (A) of its receipts of any kind from employers on account of labor relations advice or services, designating the sources thereof, and (B) of its disbursements of any kind, in connection with such services and the purposes thereof. In each such case such information shall be set forth in such categories as the Secretary may prescribe.

(c) Nothing in this section shall be construed to require any employer or other person to file a report covering the services of such person by reason of his giving or agreeing to give advice to such employer or representing or agreeing to represent such employer before any court, administrative agency, or tribunal of arbitration or engaging or agreeing to engage in collective bargaining on behalf of such employer with respect to wages, hours, or other terms or conditions of employment or the negotiation of an agreement or any question arising thereunder.

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(d) Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to require an employer to file a report under subsection (a) unless he has made an expenditure, payment, loan, agreement, or arrangement of the kind described therein. Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to require any other person to file a report under subsection (b) unless he was a party to an agreement or arrangement of the kind described therein.

(e) Nothing contained in this section shall be construed to require any regular officer, supervisor, or employee of an employer to file a report in connection with services rendered to such employer nor shall any employer be required to file a report covering expenditures made to any regular officer, supervisor, or employee of an employer as compensation for service as a regular officer, supervisor or employee of such employer.

(f) Nothing contained in this section shall be construed as an amendment to, or modification of the rights protected by, section 8(c) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended.

(g) The term "interfere with, restrain, or coerce" as used in this section means interference, restraint, and coercion which, if done with respect to the exercise of rights guaranteed in section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, would, under section

29 USC 157. 8(a) of such Act, constitute an unfair labor practice.

ATTORNEY-CLIENT COMMUNICATIONS EXEMPTED

Sec. 204. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to require an attorney who is a member in good standing of the bar of any State, to include in any report required to be filed pursuant to the provisions of this Act any information which was lawfully communicated to such attorney by any of his clients in the course of a legitimate attorney-client relationship.

REPORTS MADE PUBLIC INFORMATION

Sec. 205. (a) The contents of the reports and documents filed with the Secretary pursuant to sections 201, 202, and 203 shall be public information, and the Secretary may publish any information and data which he obtains pursuant to the provisions of this title. The Secretary may use the information and data for statistical and research purposes, and compile and publish such studies,

analyses, reports, and surveys based thereon as he may deem appropriate.

(b) The Secretary shall by regulation make reasonable provision for the inspection and examination, on the request of any person, of the information and data contained in any report or other document filed with him pursuant to section 201, 202, or 203.

(c) The Secretary shall by regulation provide for the furnishing by the Department of Labor of copies of reports or other documents filed with the Secretary pursuant to this title, upon payment of a charge based upon the cost of the service. The Secretary shall make available without payment of a charge, or require any person to furnish, to such State agency as is designated by law or by the Governor of the State in which such person has his principal place of business or headquarters, upon request of the Governor of such State, copies of any reports and documents filed by such person with the Secretary pursuant to section 201, 202, or 203, or of information and data contained therein. No person shall be required by reason of any law of any State to furnish to any officer or agency of such State any information included in a report filed by such person with the Secretary pursuant to the provisions of this title, if a copy of such report, or of the portion thereof containing such information, is furnished to such officer or agency. All moneys received

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in payment of such charges fixed by the Secretary pursuant to this subsection shall be deposited in the general fund of the Treasury.

RETENTION OF RECORDS

Sec. 206. Every person required to file any report under this title shall maintain records on the matters required to be reported which will provide in sufficient detail the necessary basic information and data from which the documents filed with the Secretary may be verified, explained or clarified, and checked for accuracy and completeness, and shall include vouchers, worksheets, receipts, and applicable resolutions, and shall keep such records available for examination for a period of not less than five years after the filing of the documents based on the information which they contain.

EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 207. (a) Each labor organization shall file the initial report required under section 201(a) within ninety days after the date on which it first becomes subject to this Act.

(b) Each person required to file a report under section 201(b), 202, 203(a), or the second sentence of 203(b) shall file such report within ninety days after the end of each of its fiscal years; except that where such person is subject to section 201(b), 202, 203(a), or the second sentence of 203(b), as the case may be, for only a portion of such a fiscal year (because the date of enactment of this Act occurs during such person's fiscal year or such person becomes subject to this Act during its fiscal year) such person may consider that portion as the entire fiscal year in making such report.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

Sec. 208. The Secretary shall have authority to issue, amend, and rescind rules and regulations prescribing the

form and publication of reports required to be filed under this title and such other reasonable rules and regulations (including rules prescribing reports concerning trusts in which a labor organization is interested) as he may find necessary to prevent the circumvention or evasion of such reporting requirements. In exercising his power under this section the Secretary shall prescribe by general rule simplified reports for labor organizations or employers for whom he finds that by virtue of their size a detailed report would be unduly burdensome, but the Secretary may revoke such provision for simplified forms of any labor organization or employer if he determines, after such investigation as he deems proper and due notice and opportunity for a hearing, that the purposes of this section would be served thereby.

CRIMINAL PROVISIONS

Sec. 209. (a) Any person who willfully violates this title shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

(b) Any person who makes a false statement or representation of a material fact, knowing it to be false, or who knowingly fails to disclose a material fact, in any document, report, or other information required under the provisions of this title shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

(c) Any person who willfully makes a false entry in or willfully conceals, withholds, or destroys any books,

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records, reports, or statements required to be kept by any provision of this title shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

(d) Each individual required to sign reports under sections 201 and 203 shall be personally responsible for the filing of such reports and for any statement contained therein which he knows to be false.

CIVIL ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 210. Whenever it shall appear that any person has violated or is about to violate any of the provisions of this title, the Secretary may bring a civil action for such relief (including injunctions) as may be appropriate. Any such action may be brought in the district court of the United States where the violation occurred or, at the option of the parties, in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia.

TITLE III TRUSTEESHIPS REPORTS

Sec. 301. (a) Every labor organization which has or assumes trusteeship over any subordinate labor organization shall file with the Secretary within thirty days after the date of the enactment of this Act or the imposition of any such trusteeship, and semiannually thereafter, a report, signed by its president and treasurer or corresponding principal officers, as well as by the trustees of such subordinate labor organization, containing the following information: (1) the name and address of the subordinate organization; (2) the date of establishing the trusteeship; (3) a detailed statement of the reason or reasons for establishing or continuing the trusteeship; and (4) the nature and extent of participation by the membership of

the subordinate organization in the selection of delegates to represent such organization in regular or special conventions or other policy-determining bodies and in the election of officers of the labor organization which has assumed trusteeship over such subordinate organization. The initial report shall also include a full and complete account of the financial condition of such subordinate organization as of the time trusteeship was assumed over it. During the continuance of a trusteeship the labor organization which has assumed trusteeship over a subordinate labor organization shall file on behalf of the subordinate labor organization the annual financial report required by section 201(b) signed by the president and treasurer or corresponding principal officers of the labor organization which has assumed such trusteeship and the trustees of the subordinate labor organization.

(b) The provisions of section 201(c), 205, 206, 208, and 210 shall be applicable to reports filed under this title.

(c) Any person who willfully violates this section shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

(d) Any person who makes a false statement or representation of a material fact, knowing it to be false, or who knowingly fails to disclose a material fact, in any report required under the provisions of this section or willfully makes any false entry in or willfully withholds, conceals, or destroys any documents, books, records, reports, or statements upon which such report is based, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

(e) Each individual required to sign a report under this section shall be personally responsible for the filing of such report and for any statement contained therein which he knows to be false.

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PURPOSES FOR WHICH A TRUSTEESHIP MAY BE ESTABLISHED

Sec. 302. Trusteeships shall be established and administered by a labor organization over a subordinate body only in accordance with the constitution and bylaws of the organization which has assumed trusteeship over the subordinate body and for the purpose of correcting corruption or financial malpractice, assuring the performance of collective bargaining agreements or other duties of a bargaining representative, restoring democratic procedures, or otherwise carrying out the legitimate objects of such labor organization.

UNLAWFUL ACTS RELATING TO LABOR ORGANIZATION UNDER TRUSTEESHIP

Sec. 303. (a) During any period when a subordinate body of a labor organization is in trusteeship, it shall be unlawful (1) to count the vote of delegates from such body in any convention or election of officers of the labor organization unless the delegates have been chosen by secret ballot in an election in which all the members in good standing of such subordinate body were eligible to participate, or (2) to transfer to such organization any current receipts or other funds of the subordinate body except the normal per capita tax and assessments payable by subordinate bodies not in trusteeship: *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall prevent the distribution of the assets of a labor organization in accordance with its

constitution and bylaws upon the bona fide dissolution thereof.

(b) Any person who willfully violates this section shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 304. (a) Upon the written complaint of any member or subordinate body of a labor organization alleging that such organization has violated the provisions of this title (except section 301) the Secretary shall investigate the complaint and if the Secretary finds probable cause to believe that such violation has occurred and has not been remedied he shall, without disclosing the identity of the complainant, bring a civil action in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the labor organization for such relief (including injunctions) as may be appropriate. Any member or subordinate body of a labor organization affected by any violation of this title (except section 301) may bring a civil action in any district court of the United States having jurisdiction of the labor organization for such relief (including injunctions) as may be appropriate.

(b) For the purpose of actions under this section, district courts of the United States shall be deemed to have jurisdiction of a labor organization (1) in the district in which the principal office of such labor organization is located, or (2) in any district in which its duly authorized officers or agents are engaged in conducting the affairs of the trusteeship.

(c) In any proceeding pursuant to this section a trusteeship established by a labor organization in conformity with the procedural requirements of its constitution and bylaws and authorized or ratified after a fair hearing either before the executive board or before such other body as may be provided in accordance with its constitution or bylaws shall be presumed valid for a period of eighteen months from the date of its establishment and shall not be subject to attack during such period except upon clear and convincing proof that the trusteeship was not established or maintained in good faith for a purpose allowable under section 302. After the expiration of eighteen months the trusteeship shall be presumed invalid in any such proceeding.

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ing and its discontinuance shall be decreed unless the labor organization shall show by clear and convincing proof that the continuation of the trusteeship is necessary for a purpose allowable under section 302. In the latter event the court may dismiss the complaint or retain jurisdiction of the cause on such conditions and for such period as it deems appropriate.

REPORT TO CONGRESS

Sec. 305. The Secretary shall submit to the Congress at the expiration of three years from the date of enactment of this Act a report upon the operation of this title.

COMPLAINT BY SECRETARY

Sec. 306. The rights and remedies provided by this title shall be in addition to any and all other rights and remedies at law or in equity: *Provided*, That upon the filing of a complaint by the Secretary the jurisdiction of the district court over such trusteeship shall be exclusive and the final judgment shall be res judicata.

TITLE IV ELECTIONS

TERMS OF OFFICE; ELECTION PROCEDURES

Sec. 401. (a) Every national or international labor organization, except a federation of national or international labor organizations, shall elect its officers not less often than once every five years either by secret ballot among the members in good standing or at a convention of delegates chosen by secret ballot.

(b) Every local labor organization shall elect its officers not less often than once every three years by secret ballot among the members in good standing.

(c) Every national or international labor organization, except a federation of national or international labor organizations, and every local labor organization, and its officers, shall be under a duty, enforceable at the suit of any bona fide candidate for office in such labor organization in the district court of the United States in which such labor organization maintains its principal office, to comply with all reasonable requests of any candidate to distribute by mail or otherwise at the candidate's expense campaign literature in aid of such person's candidacy to all members in good standing of such labor organization and to refrain from discrimination in favor of or against any candidate with respect to the use of lists of members, and whenever such labor organizations or its officers authorize the distribution by mail or otherwise to members of campaign literature on behalf of any candidate or of the labor organization itself with reference to such election, similar distribution at the request of any other bona fide candidate shall be made by such labor organization and its officers, with equal treatment as to the expense of such distribution. Every bona fide candidate shall have the right, once within 30 days prior to an election of a labor organization in which he is a candidate, to inspect a list containing the names and last known addresses of all members of the labor organization who are subject to a collective bargaining agreement requiring membership therein as a condition of employment, which list shall be maintained and kept at the principal office of such labor organization by a designated official thereof. Adequate safeguards to insure a fair election shall be provided, including the right of any candidate to have an observer at the polls and at the counting of the ballots.

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(d) Officers of intermediate bodies, such as general committees, system boards, joint boards, or joint councils, shall be elected not less often than once every four years by secret ballot among the members in good standing or by labor organization officers representative of such members who have been elected by secret ballot.

(e) In any election required by this section which is to be held by secret ballot a reasonable opportunity shall be given for the nomination of candidates and every member in good standing shall be eligible to be a candidate and to hold office (subject to section 504 and to reasonable qualifications uniformly imposed) and shall have the right to vote for or otherwise support the candidate or candidates of his choice, without being subject to penalty, discipline, or improper interference or reprisal of any kind by such organization or any member thereof. Not less than fifteen days prior to the election notice thereof shall be mailed to each member at his last known home address. Each member in good standing shall be entitled to one

vote. No member whose dues have been withheld by his employer for payment to such organization pursuant to his voluntary authorization provided for in a collective bargaining agreement shall be declared ineligible to vote or be a candidate for office in such organization by reason of alleged delay or default in the payment of dues. The votes cast by members of each local labor organization shall be counted, and the results published, separately. The election officials designated in the constitution and bylaws or the secretary, if no other official is designated, shall preserve for one year the ballots and all other records pertaining to the election. The election shall be conducted in accordance with the constitution and bylaws of such organization insofar as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of this title.

(f) When officers are chosen by a convention of delegates elected by secret ballot, the convention shall be conducted in accordance with the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization insofar as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of this title. The officials designated in the constitution and bylaws or the secretary, if no other is designated, shall preserve for one year the credentials of the delegates and all minutes and other records of the convention pertaining to the election of officers.

(g) No moneys received by any labor organization by way of dues, assessment, or similar levy, and no moneys of an employer shall be contributed or applied to promote the candidacy of any person in an election subject to the provisions of this title. Such moneys of a labor organization may be utilized for notices, factual statements of issues not involving candidates, and other expenses necessary for the holding of an election.

(h) If the Secretary, upon application of any member of a local labor organization, finds after hearing in accordance with the Administrative Procedure Act that the constitution and bylaws of such labor organization do not provide an adequate procedure for the removal of an elected officer guilty of serious misconduct, such officer may be removed, for cause shown and after notice and hearing, by the members in good standing voting in a secret ballot conducted by the officers of such labor organization in accordance with its constitution and bylaws insofar as they are not inconsistent with the provisions of this title.

(i) The Secretary shall promulgate rules and regulations prescribing minimum standards and procedures for determining the adequacy of the removal procedures to which reference is made in subsection (h).

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ENFORCEMENT

Sec. 402. (a) A member of a labor organization—

(1) who has exhausted the remedies available under the constitution and bylaws of such organization and of any parent body, or

(2) who has invoked such available remedies without obtaining a final decision within three calendar months after their invocation,

may file a complaint with the Secretary within one calendar month thereafter alleging the violation of any provision of section 401 (including violation of the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization pertaining to the election and removal of officers). The challenged election shall be presumed valid pending a final decision thereon (as hereinafter provided) and in the interim the affairs of

the organization shall be conducted by the officers elected or in such other manner as its constitution and bylaws may provide.

(b) The Secretary shall investigate such complaint and, if he finds probable cause to believe that a violation of this title has occurred and has not been remedied, he shall, within sixty days after the filing of such complaint, bring a civil action against the labor organization as an entity in the district court of the United States in which such labor organization maintains its principal office to set aside the invalid election, if any, and to direct the conduct of an election or hearing and vote upon the removal of officers under the supervision of the Secretary and in accordance with the provisions of this title and such rules and regulations as the Secretary may prescribe. The court shall have power to take such action as it deems proper to preserve the assets of the labor organization.

(c) If, upon a preponderance of the evidence after a trial upon the merits, the court finds—

(1) that an election has not been held within the time prescribed by section 401, or

(2) that the violation of section 401 may have affected the outcome of an election,

the court shall declare the election, if any, to be void and direct the conduct of a new election under supervision of the Secretary and, so far as lawful and practicable, in conformity with the constitution and bylaws of the labor organization. The Secretary shall promptly certify to the court the names of the persons elected, and the court shall thereupon enter a decree declaring such persons to be the officers of the labor organization. If the proceeding is for the removal of officers pursuant to subsection (h) of section 401, the Secretary shall certify the results of the vote and the court shall enter a decree declaring whether such persons have been removed as officers of the labor organization.

(d) An order directing an election, dismissing a complaint, or designating elected officers of a labor organization shall be appealable in the same manner as the final judgment in a civil action, but an order directing an election shall not be stayed pending appeal.

APPLICATION OF OTHER LAWS

Sec. 403. No labor organization shall be required by law to conduct elections of officers with greater frequency or in a different form or manner than is required by its own constitution or bylaws, except as otherwise provided by this title. Existing rights and remedies to enforce the constitution and bylaws of a labor organization with respect to elections prior to the conduct thereof shall not be affected by the provisions of this title. The remedy provided by this title for challenging an election already conducted shall be exclusive.

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EFFECTIVE DATE

Sec. 404. The provisions of this title shall become applicable—

(1) ninety days after the date of enactment of this Act in the case of a labor organization whose constitution and bylaws can lawfully be modified or amended by action of its constitutional officers or governing body, or

(2) where such modification can only be made by a constitutional convention of the labor organization, not

later than the next constitutional convention of such labor organization after the date of enactment of this Act, or one year after such date, whichever is sooner. If no such convention is held within such one-year period, the executive board or similar governing body empowered to act for such labor organization between conventions is empowered to make such interim constitutional changes as are necessary to carry out the provisions of this title.

TITLE V SAFEGUARDS FOR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

FIDUCIARY RESPONSIBILITY OF OFFICERS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Sec. 501. (a) The officers, agents, shop stewards, and other representatives of a labor organization occupy positions of trust in relation to such organization and its members as a group. It is, therefore, the duty of each such person, taking into account the special problems and functions of a labor organization, to hold its money and property solely for the benefit of the organization and its members and to manage, invest, and expend the same in accordance with its constitution and bylaws and any resolutions of the governing bodies adopted thereunder, to refrain from dealing with such organization as an adverse party or in behalf of an adverse party in any matter connected with his duties and from holding or acquiring any pecuniary or personal interest which conflicts with the interests of such organization, and to account to the organization for any profit received by him in whatever capacity in connection with transactions conducted by him or under his direction on behalf of the organization. A general exculpatory provision in the constitution and bylaws of such a labor organization or a general exculpatory resolution of a governing body purporting to relieve any such person of liability for breach of the duties declared by this section shall be void as against public policy.

(b) When any officer, agent, shop steward, or representative of any labor organization is alleged to have violated the duties declared in subsection (a) and the labor organization or its governing board or officers refuse or fail to sue or recover damages or secure an accounting or other appropriate relief within a reasonable time after being requested to do so by any member of the labor organization, such member may sue such officer, agent, shop steward, or representative in any district court of the United States or in any State court of competent jurisdiction to recover damages or secure an accounting or other appropriate relief for the benefit of the labor organization. No such proceeding shall be brought except upon leave of the court obtained upon verified application and for good cause shown, which application may be made ex parte. The trial judge may allot a reasonable part of the recovery in any action under this subsection to pay the fees of counsel prosecuting the suit at the instance of the member of the labor organization and to compensate such member for any expenses necessarily paid or incurred by him in connection with the litigation.

(c) Any person who embezzles, steals, or unlawfully and willfully abstracts or converts to his own use, or the use of another, any of the moneys, funds, securities, property, or other assets of a labor organization of which he is an officer, or by which he is employed, directly or in-

directly, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than five years, or both.

BONDING

Sec. 502. (a) Every officer, agent, shop steward, or other representative or employee of any labor organization (other than a labor organization whose property and annual financial receipts do not exceed \$5,000 in value), or of a trust in which a labor organization is interested, who handles funds or other property thereof shall be bonded for the faithful discharge of his duties. The bond of each such person shall be fixed at the beginning of the organization's fiscal year and shall be in an amount not less than 10 per centum of the funds handled by him and his predecessor or predecessors, if any, during the preceding fiscal year, but in no case more than \$500,000. If the labor organization or the trust in which a labor organization is interested does not have a preceding fiscal year, the amount of the bond shall be, in the case of a local labor organization, not less than \$1,000, and in the case of any other labor organization or of a trust in which a labor organization is interested, not less than \$10,000. Such bonds shall be individual or schedule in form, and shall have a corporate surety company as surety thereon. Any person who is not covered by such bonds shall not be permitted to receive, handle, disburse, or otherwise exercise custody or control of the funds or other property of a labor organization or of a trust in which a labor organization is interested. No such bond shall be placed through an agent or broker or with a surety company in which any labor organization or any officer, agent, shop steward, or other representative of a labor organization has any direct or indirect interest. Such surety company shall be a corporate surety which holds a grant of authority from the Secretary of the Treasury under the Act of July 30, 1947 (6 U.S.C. 6-13), as an acceptable surety on Federal bonds. **61 Stat. 648.**

(b) Any person who willfully violates this section shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

MAKING OF LOANS; PAYMENT OF FINES

Sec. 503. (a) No labor organization shall make directly or indirectly any loan or loans to any officer or employee of such organization which results in a total indebtedness on the part of such officer or employee to the labor organization in excess of \$2,000.

(b) No labor organization or employer shall directly or indirectly pay the fine of any officer or employee convicted of any willful violation of this Act.

(c) Any person who willfully violates this section shall be fined not more than \$5,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

PROHIBITION AGAINST CERTAIN PERSONS HOLDING OFFICE

Sec. 504. (a) No person who is or has been a member of the Communist Party or who has been convicted of, or served any part of a prison term resulting from his conviction of, robbery, bribery, extortion, embezzlement, grand larceny, burglary, arson, violation of narcotics laws, murder, rape, assault with intent to kill, assault which

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inflicts grievous bodily injury, or a violation of title II or III of this Act, or conspiracy to commit any such crimes, shall serve—

(1) as an officer, director, trustee, member of any executive board or similar governing body, business agent, manager, organizer, or other employee (other than as an employee performing exclusively clerical or custodial duties) of any labor organization, or

(2) as a labor relations consultant to a person engaged in an industry or activity affecting commerce, or as an officer, director, agent, or employee (other than as an employee performing exclusively clerical or custodial duties) of any group or association of employers dealing with any labor organization,

during or for five years after the termination of his membership in the Communist Party, or for five years after such conviction or after the end of such imprisonment, unless prior to the end of such five-year period, in the case of a person so convicted or imprisoned, (A) his citizenship rights, having been revoked as a result of such conviction, have been fully restored, or (B) the Board of Parole of the United States Department of Justice determines that such person's service in any capacity referred to in clause (1) or (2) would not be contrary to the purposes of this Act. Prior to making any such determination the Board shall hold an administrative hearing and shall give notice of such proceeding by certified mail to the State, county, and Federal prosecuting officials in the jurisdiction or jurisdictions in which such person was convicted. The Board's determination in any such proceeding shall be final. No labor organization or officer thereof shall knowingly permit any person to assume or hold any office or paid position in violation of this subsection.

(b) Any person who willfully violates this section shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

(c) For the purposes of this section, any person shall be deemed to have been "convicted" and under the disability of "conviction" from the date of the judgment of the trial court or the date of the final sustaining of such judgment on appeal, whichever is the later event, regardless of whether such conviction occurred before or after the date of enactment of this Act.

AMENDMENT TO SECTION 302, LABOR MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT, 1947

Sec. 505. Subsections (a), (b), and (c) of section 302 of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, as amended, are amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 302. (a) It shall be unlawful for any employer or association of employers or any person who acts as a labor relations expert, adviser, or consultant to an employer or who acts in the interest of an employer to pay, lend, or deliver, or agree to pay, lend, or deliver, any money or other thing of value—

"(1) to any representative of any of his employees who are employed in an industry affecting commerce; or

"(2) to any labor organization, or any officer or employee thereof, which represents, seeks to represent, or would admit to membership, any of the employees of such employer who are employed in an industry affecting commerce; or

"(3) to any employee or group or committee of employees of such employer employed in an industry affecting commerce in excess of their normal compensation for the purpose of causing such employee or group or committee directly or indirectly to influence any

other employees in the exercise of the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of

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their own choosing; or

"(4) to any officer or employee of a labor organization engaged in an industry affecting commerce with intent to influence him in respect to any of his actions, decisions, or duties as a representative of employees or as such officer or employee of such labor organization.

"(b)(1) It shall be unlawful for any person to request, demand, receive, or accept, or agree to receive or accept, any payment, loan, or delivery of any money or other thing of value prohibited by subsection (a).

"(2) It shall be unlawful for any labor organization, or for any person acting as an officer, agent, representative, or employee of such labor organization, to demand or accept from the operator of any motor vehicle (as defined in part II of the Interstate Commerce Act) employed in the transportation of property in commerce, or the employer of any such operator, any money or other thing of value payable to such organization or to an officer, agent, representative or employee thereof as a fee or charge for the unloading, or in connection with the unloading, of the cargo of such vehicle: *Provided*, That nothing in this paragraph shall be construed to make unlawful any payment by an employer to any of his employees as compensation for their services as employees.

"(c) The provisions of this section shall not be applicable (1) in respect to any money or other thing of value payable by an employer to any of his employees whose established duties include acting openly for such employer in matters of labor relations or personnel administration or to any representative of his employees, or to any officer or employee of a labor organization, who is also an employee or former employee of such employer, as compensation for, or by reason of, his service as an employee of such employer; (2) with respect to the payment or delivery of any money or other thing of value in satisfaction of a judgment of any court or a decision or award of an arbitrator or impartial chairman or in compromise, adjustment, settlement, or release of any claim, complaint, grievance, or dispute in the absence of fraud or duress; (3) with respect to the sale or purchase of an article or commodity at the prevailing market price in the regular course of business; (4) with respect to money deducted from the wages of employees in payment of membership dues in a labor organization: *Provided*, That the employer has received from each employee, on whose account such deductions are made, a written assignment which shall not be irrevocable for a period of more than one year, or beyond the termination date of the applicable collective agreement, whichever occurs sooner; (5) with respect to money or other thing of value paid to a trust fund established by such representative, for the sole and exclusive benefit of the employees of such employer, and their families and dependents (or of such employees, families, and dependents jointly with the employees of other employers making similar payments, and their families and dependents): *Provided*, That (A) such payments are held in trust for the purpose of paying, either from principal or income or both, for the benefit of employees, their families and dependents, for medical or hospital care, pensions or retirement or death of em-

employees, compensation for injuries or illness resulting from occupational activity or insurance to provide any of the foregoing, or unemployment benefits or life insurance, disability and sickness insurance, or accident insurance; (B) the detailed basis on which such payments are to be made is specified in a written agreement with the employer, and employees and employers are equally represented in the administration of such fund, together with such neutral

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persons as the representatives of the employers and the representatives of employees may agree upon and in the event the employer and employee groups deadlock on the administration of such fund and there are no neutral persons empowered to break such deadlock, such agreement provides that the two groups shall agree on an impartial umpire to decide such dispute, or in event of their failure to agree within a reasonable length of time, an impartial umpire to decide such dispute shall, on petition of either group, be appointed by the district court of the United States for the district where the trust fund has its principal office, and shall also contain provisions for an annual audit of the trust fund, a statement of the results of which shall be available for inspection by interested persons at the principal office of the trust fund and at such other places as may be designated in such written agreement; and (C) such payments as are intended to be used for the purpose of providing pensions or annuities for employees are made to a separate trust which provides that the funds held therein cannot be used for any purpose other than paying such pensions or annuities; or (6) with respect to money or other thing of value paid by any employer to a trust fund established by such representative for the purpose of pooled vacation, holiday, severance or similar benefits, or defraying costs of apprenticeship or other training programs: *Provided*, That the requirements of clause (B) of the proviso to clause (5) of this subsection shall apply to such trust funds."

TITLE VI MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS INVESTIGATIONS

Sec. 601. (a) The Secretary shall have power when he believes it necessary in order to determine whether any person has violated or is about to violate any provision of this Act (except title I or amendments made by this Act to other statutes) to make an investigation and in connection therewith he may enter such places and inspect such records and accounts and question such persons as he may deem necessary to enable him to determine the facts relative thereto. The Secretary may report to interested persons or officials concerning the facts required to be shown in any report required by this Act and concerning the reasons for failure or refusal to file such a report or any other matter which he deems to be appropriate as a result of such an investigation.

(b) For the purpose of any investigation provided for in this Act, the provisions of sections 9 and 10 (relating to the attendance of witnesses and the production of books, papers, and documents) of the Federal Trade Commission Act of September 16, 1914, as amended (15 U.S.C. 49, 50), are hereby made applicable to the jurisdiction, powers, and duties of the Secretary or any officers designated by him.

38 Stat. 717.

EXTORTIONATE PICKETING

Sec. 602. (a) It shall be unlawful to carry on picketing on or about the premises of any employer for the purpose of, or as part of any conspiracy or in furtherance of any plan or purpose for, the personal profit or enrichment of any individual (except a bona fide increase in wages or other employee benefits) by taking or obtaining any money or other thing of value from such employer against his will or with his consent.

(b) Any person who willfully violates this section shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both.

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RETENTION OF RIGHTS UNDER OTHER FEDERAL AND STATE LAWS

Sec. 603. (a) Except as explicitly provided to the contrary, nothing in this Act shall reduce or limit the responsibilities of any labor organization or any officer, agent, shop steward, or other representative of a labor organization, or of any trust in which a labor organization is interested, under any other Federal law or under the laws of any State, and, except as explicitly provided to the contrary, nothing in this Act shall take away any right or bar any remedy to which members of a labor organization are entitled under such other Federal law or law of any State.

(b) Nothing contained in titles I, II, III, IV, V, or VI of this Act shall be construed to supersede or impair or otherwise affect the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, as amended, or any of the obligations, rights, benefits, privileges, or immunities of any carrier, employee, organization, representative, or person subject thereto; nor shall anything contained in said titles (except section 505) of this Act be construed to confer any rights, privileges, immunities, or defenses upon employers, or to impair or otherwise affect the rights of any person under the National Labor Relations Act, as amended.

44 Stat. 577.

45 USC 151.

61 Stat. 136.

29 USC 167.

EFFECT ON STATE LAWS

Sec. 604. Nothing in this Act shall be construed to impair or diminish the authority of any State to enact and enforce general criminal laws with respect to robbery, bribery, extortion, embezzlement, grand larceny, burglary, arson, violation of narcotics laws, murder, rape, assault with intent to kill, or assault which inflicts grievous bodily injury, or conspiracy to commit any of such crimes.

SERVICE OF PROCESS

Sec. 605. For the purposes of this Act, service of summons, subpoena, or other legal process of a court of the United States upon an officer or agent of a labor organization in his capacity as such shall constitute service upon the labor organization.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURE ACT

Sec. 606. The provisions of the Administrative Procedure Act shall be applicable to the issuance, amendment, or rescission of any rules or regulations, or any adjudication, authorized or required pursuant to the provisions of this Act.

60 Stat. 237.

5 USC 1001 note.

OTHER AGENCIES AND DEPARTMENTS

Sec. 607. In order to avoid unnecessary expense and duplication of functions among Government agencies, the Secretary may make such arrangements or agreements for cooperation or mutual assistance in the performance of his functions under this Act and the functions of any such agency as he may find to be practicable and consistent with law. The Secretary may utilize the facilities or services of any department, agency, or establishment of the United States or of any State or political subdivision of a State, including the services of any of its employees, with the lawful consent of such department, agency, or establishment; and each department, agency, or establishment of the United States is authorized and directed to cooperate with the Secretary and, to the extent permitted by law, to provide such information and facilities as he may request for his assistance in the performance of his functions under this Act. The Attorney General or his representative shall receive from the Secretary for ap-

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propriate action such evidence developed in the performance of his functions under this Act as may be found to warrant consideration for criminal prosecution under the provisions of this Act or other Federal law.

CRIMINAL CONTEMPT

Sec. 608. No person shall be punished for any criminal contempt allegedly committed outside the immediate presence of the court in connection with any civil action prosecuted by the Secretary or any other person in any court of the United States under the provisions of this Act unless the facts constituting such criminal contempt are established by the verdict of the jury in a proceeding in the district court of the United States, which jury shall be chosen and empaneled in the manner prescribed by the law governing trial juries in criminal prosecutions in the district courts of the United States.

PROHIBITION ON CERTAIN DISCIPLINE BY LABOR ORGANIZATION

Sec. 609. It shall be unlawful for any labor organization, or any officer, agent, shop steward, or other representative of a labor organization, or any employee thereof to fine, suspend, expel, or otherwise discipline any of its members for exercising any right to which he is entitled under the provisions of this Act. The provisions of section 102 shall be applicable in the enforcement of this section.

DEPRIVATION OF RIGHTS UNDER ACT BY VIOLENCE

Sec. 610. It shall be unlawful for any person through the use of force or violence, or threat of the use of force or violence, to restrain, coerce, or intimidate, or attempt to restrain, coerce, or intimidate any member of a labor organization for the purpose of interfering with or preventing the exercise of any right to which he is entitled under the provisions of this Act. Any person who willfully violates this section shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than one year, or both.

SEPARABILITY PROVISIONS

Sec. 611. If any provision of this Act, or the application of such provision to any person or circumstances, shall be held invalid, the remainder of this Act or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those as to which it is held invalid, shall not be affected thereby.

TITLE VII AMENDMENTS TO THE LABOR MANAGEMENT RELATIONS ACT, 1947, AS AMENDED

FEDERAL-STATE JURISDICTION

Sec 701. (a) Section 14 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following **29 USC 164.** new subsection:

"(c)(1) The Board, in its discretion, may, by rule of decision or by published rules adopted pursuant to the Administrative Procedure Act, decline to assert jurisdiction over any labor dispute involving any class or category of employers, where, in the opinion of the Board, the effect of such labor dispute on commerce is not sufficiently substantial to warrant the exercise of its jurisdiction: *Provided*, That the Board shall not decline to assert jurisdiction over any labor dispute over which it would

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assert jurisdiction under the standards prevailing upon August 1, 1959.

"(2) Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to prevent or bar any agency or the courts of any State or Territory (including the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands), from assuming and asserting jurisdiction over labor disputes over which the Board declines, pursuant to paragraph (1) of this subsection, to assert jurisdiction."

(b) Section 3(b) of such Act is amended to read as follows: **29 USC 153.**

"(b) The Board is authorized to delegate to any group of three or more members any or all of the powers which it may itself exercise. The Board is also authorized to delegate to its regional directors its powers under section 9 to de- **29 USC 159.** termine the unit appropriate for the purpose of collective bargaining, to investigate and provide for hearings, and determine whether a question of representation exists, and to direct an election or take a secret ballot under subsection (c) or (e) of section 9 and certify the results thereof, except that upon the filing of a request therefor with the Board by any interested person, the Board may review any action of a regional director delegated to him under this paragraph, but such a review shall not, unless specifically ordered by the Board, operate as a stay of any action taken by the regional director. A vacancy in the Board shall not impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all of the powers of the Board, and three members of the Board shall, at all times, constitute a quorum of the Board, except that two members shall constitute a quorum of any group designated pursuant to the first sentence hereof. The Board shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed."

ECONOMIC STRIKERS

Sec. 702. Section 9(c)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by **29 USC 159.** amending the second sentence thereof to read as follows: "Employees engaged in an economic strike who are not entitled to reinstatement shall be eligible to vote under such regulations as the Board shall find are consistent with the purposes and provisions of this Act in any election conducted within twelve months after the commencement of the strike."

VACANCY IN OFFICE OF GENERAL COUNSEL

Sec. 703. Section 3(d) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by adding after the period at the end thereof the following: "In case of a vacancy in the office of the General Counsel the President is authorized to designate the officer or employee who shall act as General Counsel during such vacancy, but no person or persons so designated shall so act (1) for more than forty days when the Congress is in session unless a nomination to fill such vacancy shall have been submitted to the Senate, or (2) after the adjournment sine die of the session of the Senate in which such nomination was submitted."

BOYCOTTS AND RECOGNITION PICKETING

Sec. 704. (a) Section 8(b)(4) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is **29 USC 158.** amended to read as follows:

"(4)(i) to engage in, or to induce or encourage any individual employed by any person engaged in commerce or in an industry affecting commerce to engage in, a strike or a refusal in the course of his employment to use, manufacture, process, transport, or otherwise handle or work on any goods, articles, materials, or commodities or to perform any services; or (ii) to threaten, coerce, or restrain any person en-

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gaged in commerce or in an industry affecting commerce, where in either case an object thereof is—

"(A) forcing or requiring any employer or self-employed person to join any labor or employer organization or to enter into any agreement which is prohibited by section 8(e);

"(B) forcing or requiring any person to cease using, selling, handling, transporting, or otherwise dealing in the products of any other producer, processor, or manufacturer, or to cease doing business with any other person, or forcing or requiring any other employer to recognize or bargain with a labor organization as the representative of his employees unless such labor organization has been certified as the representative of such employees under the provisions of section 9: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this clause (B) shall be construed to make unlawful, where not otherwise unlawful, any primary strike or primary picketing;

"(C) forcing or requiring any employer to recognize or bargain with a particular labor organization as the representative of his employees if another labor organization has been certified as the representa-

tive of such employees under the provisions of section 9;

"(D) forcing or requiring any employer to assign particular work to employees in a particular labor organization or in a particular trade, craft, or class rather than to employees in another labor organization or in another trade, craft, or class, unless such employer is failing to conform to an order or certification of the Board determining the bargaining representative for employees performing such work: *Provided*, That nothing contained in this subsection (b) shall be construed to make unlawful a refusal by any person to enter upon the premises of any employer (other than his own employer), if the employees of such employer are engaged in a strike ratified or approved by a representative of such employees whom such employer is required to recognize under this Act: *Provided further*, That for the purposes of this paragraph (4) only, nothing contained in such paragraph shall be construed to prohibit publicity, other than picketing, for the purpose of truthfully advising the public, including consumers and members of a labor organization, that a product or products are produced by an employer with whom the labor organization has a primary dispute and are distributed by another employer, as long as such publicity does not have an effect of inducing any individual employed by any person other than the primary employer in the course of his employment to refuse to pick up, deliver, or transport any goods, or not to perform any services, at the establishment of the employer engaged in such distribution;"

(b) Section 8 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by **29 USC 158.** adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(e) It shall be an unfair labor practice for any labor organization and any employer to enter into any contract or agreement, express or implied, whereby such employer ceases or refrains or agrees to cease or refrain from handling, using, selling, transporting or otherwise dealing in any of the products of any other employer, or to cease doing business with any other person, and any contract or agreement entered into heretofore or hereafter containing such an agreement shall be to such extent unenforceable and void: *Provided*, That nothing in this subsection (e) shall apply to an agreement between a labor organization

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and an employer in the construction industry relating to the contracting or subcontracting of work to be done at the site of the construction, alteration, painting, or repair of a building, structure, or other works: *Provided further*, That for the purposes of this subsection (e) and section 8(b)(4)(B) the terms 'any employer', 'any person engaged in commerce or an industry affecting commerce', and 'any person' when used in relation to the terms 'any other producer, processor, or manufacturer', 'any other employer', or 'any other person' shall not include persons in the relation of a jobber, manufacturer, contractor, or subcontractor working on the goods or premises of the jobber or manufacturer or performing parts of an integrated process of production in the apparel and clothing industry: *Provided further*, That nothing in this Act shall prohibit the enforcement of any agreement which is within the foregoing exception."

(c) Section 8(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by striking out the word "and" at the end of paragraph (5), striking out the period at the end of paragraph (6), and inserting in lieu thereof a semicolon and the word "and," and adding a new paragraph as follows:

"(7) to picket or cause to be picketed, or threaten to picket or cause to be picketed, any employer where an object thereof is forcing or requiring an employer to recognize or bargain with a labor organization as the representative of his employees, or forcing or requiring the employee of an employer to accept or select such labor organization as their collective bargaining representative, unless such labor organization is currently certified as the representative of such employees:

"(A) where the employer has lawfully recognized in accordance with this Act any other labor organization and a question concerning representation may not appropriately be raised under section 9(c) of this Act,

"(B) where within the preceding twelve months a valid election under section 9(c) of this Act has been conducted, or

"(C) where such picketing has been conducted without a petition under section 9(c) being filed within a reasonable period of time not to exceed thirty days from the commencement of such picketing: *Provided*, That when such a petition has been filed the Board shall forthwith, without regard to the provisions of section 9(c)(1) or the absence of a showing of a substantial interest on the part of the labor organization, direct an election in such unit as the Board finds to be appropriate and shall certify the results thereof: *Provided further*, That nothing in this subparagraph (C) shall be construed to prohibit any picketing or other publicity for the purpose of truthfully advising the public (including consumers) that an employer does not employ members of, or have a contract with, a labor organization, unless an effect of such picketing is to induce any individual employed by any other person in the course of his employment, not to pick up, deliver or transport any goods or not to perform any services.

"Nothing in this paragraph (7) shall be construed to permit any act which would otherwise be an unfair labor practice under this section 8(b)."

(d) Section 10(1) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by adding after the words "section 8(b)," the words "or section 8(e) or section 8(b)(7)," and by striking out the period at the end of the third sentence and inserting in lieu thereof a colon and the following: "*Provided further*, That such officer or regional

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attorney shall not apply for any restraining order under section 8(b)(7) if a charge against the employer under section 8(a)(2) has been filed and after the preliminary investigation, he has reasonable cause to believe that such charge is true and that a complaint should issue."

(e) Section 303(a) of the Labor Management Relations Act, 1947, is amended to read as follows:

"(a) It shall be unlawful, for the purpose of this section only, in an industry or activity affecting commerce, for any labor organization to engage in any activity or con-

duct defined as an unfair labor practice in section 8(b)(4) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended."

BUILDING AND CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY

Sec. 705. (a) Section 8 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended by section 704(b) of this Act, is amended by adding at the **29 USC 158.** end thereof the following new subsection:

"(f) It shall not be an unfair labor practice under subsections (a) and (b) of this section for an employer engaged primarily in the building and construction industry to make an agreement covering employees engaged (or who, upon their employment, will be engaged) in the building and construction industry with a labor organization of which building and construction employees are members (not established, maintained, or assisted by any action defined in section 8(a) of this Act as an unfair labor practice) because (1) the majority status of such labor organization has not been established under the provisions of section 9 of this Act prior to the making of such agreement, or (2) such agreement requires as a condition of employment, membership in such labor organization after the seventh day following the beginning of such employment or the effective date of the agreement, which ever is later, or (3) such agreement requires the employer to notify such labor organization of opportunities for employment with such employer, or gives such labor organization an opportunity to refer qualified applicants for such employment, or (4) such agreement specifies minimum training or experience qualifications for employment or provides for priority in opportunities for employment based upon length of service with such employer, in the industry or in the particular geographical area: *Provided*, That nothing in this subsection shall set aside the final proviso to section 8(a)(3) of this Act: *Provided further*, That any agreement which would be invalid, but for clause (1) of this subsection, shall not be a bar to a petition filed pursuant to section 9(c) or 9(e)."

(b) Nothing contained in the amendment made by subsection (a) shall be construed as authorizing the execution or application of agreements requiring membership in a labor organization as a condition of employment in any State or Territory in which such execution or application is prohibited by State or Territorial law.

PRIORITY IN CASE HANDLING

Sec. 706. Section 10 of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, is amended by adding at the end thereof a new subsection **29 USC 160.** as follows:

"(m) Whenever it is charged that any person has engaged in an unfair labor practice within the meaning of subsection (a)(3) or (b)(2) of section 8, such charge shall be given priority over all other cases except cases of like character in the office where it is filed or to which it is referred and cases given priority under subsection (1)."

73 STAT. 546.

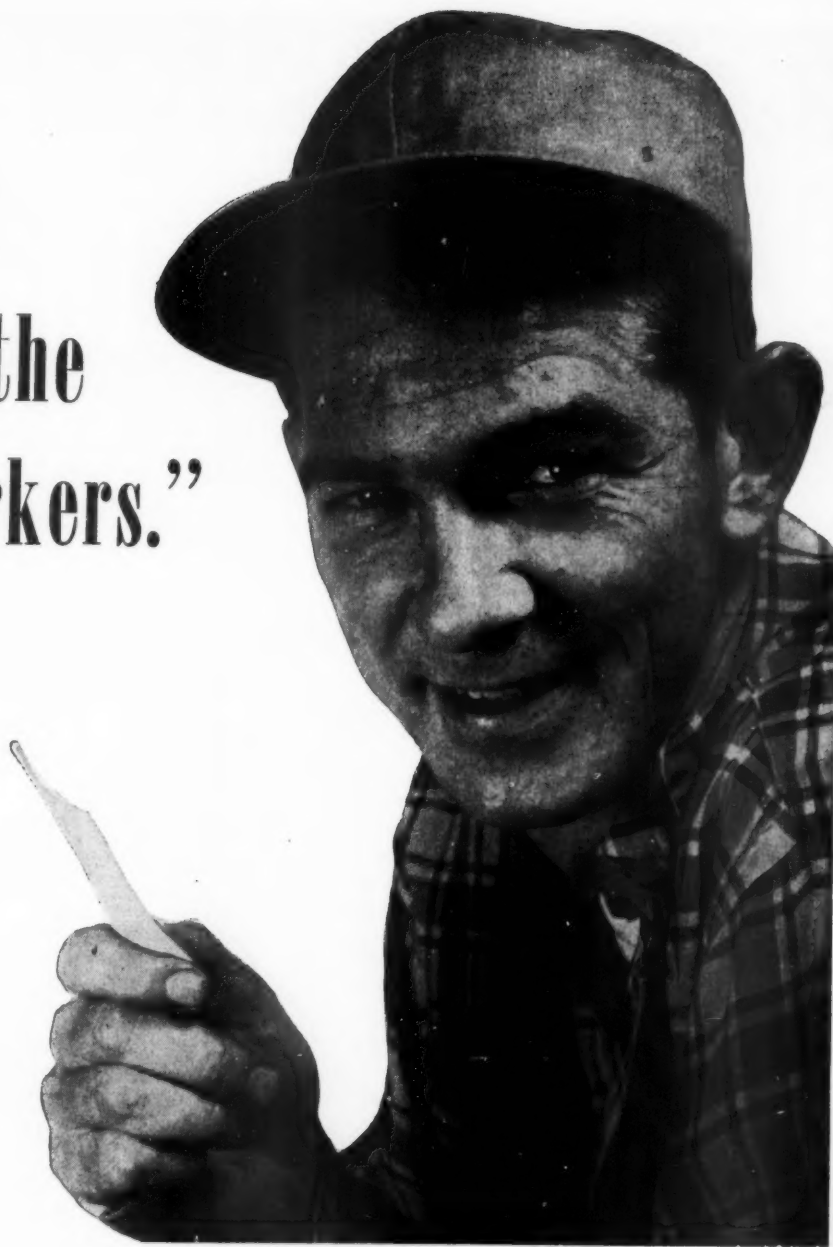
EFFECTIVE DATE OF AMENDMENTS

Sec. 707. The amendments made by this title shall take effect sixty days after the date of the enactment of this Act and no provision of this title shall be deemed to make an unfair labor practice, any act which is performed prior to such effective date which did not constitute an unfair labor practice prior thereto.

Approved September 14, 1959.

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**"I'm glad
to back the
Steelworkers."**



**"The Steelworkers' fight is
my fight and it is your fight."**

"SEE YOU AT THE UNION MEETING"



*IF YOU want your union to do a good job for you and to be clean and democratic, remember that you must do your part by being a **REAL** trade unionist all the time.*

One of the most valuable contributions you and your fellow members can make is by regular attendance at the meetings of your local union. Bear in mind that union meetings are very important and it's your duty to be present. Don't miss the meetings if you want your union to be clean, effective and democratic.

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